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ABSTRACT

Various aspects of rural homes and families in the changing environment of rural Saskatchewan were examined in terms of "level of living" (how they live) and "standard of living" (how they would like to live). Housewives, homemaker clubs, and other interested groups were questioned concerning certain features of family living which seem most related to other rural problems studied by the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life. Examined were: (1) problems affecting rural families as seen by the public; (2) material level of living of farm families from early settlement to present (1880-1955); (3) amenities of family living today; (4) family relationships in the rural family; (5) roles of the rural homemaker; (6) services for rural families; and (7) public proposals on the rural family. A summary of solutions to problems of the rural family as proposed by provincial organizations and consultants and the Commission's conclusions and recommendations were also given. The appendices included: supporting data for illustrations; definitions used in the 1951 census of Canada; sample and methods used for organization study; characteristics of field study families; a supplementary female interview form; explanation of family indexes; statistical significance of analytical material; characteristics and representativeness of the homemaker sample (125); and a women's services questionnaire. (AM)

ED101874

PROVINCE OF SASKATCHEWAN

ROYAL COMMISSION ON AGRICULTURE AND RURAL LIFE

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10. The Home and Family in Rural Saskatchewan

RC 008295

ED101874

ROYAL COMMISSION ON AGRICULTURE
AND RURAL LIFE

REPORT NO. 10

The Home and Family in Rural Saskatchewan

Submitted to the
GOVERNMENT OF SASKATCHEWAN
1956

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TERMS OF REFERENCE

Order in Council 2442/52 Regina, Friday, October 31, 1952.

The Executive Council has had under consideration a report from the President of the Council, dated October 31, 1952, stating that by The Public Inquiries Act, being chapter 15 of the Revised Statutes of Saskatchewan, 1940, it is enacted that the Lieutenant Governor in Council, when he deems it expedient to cause inquiry to be made into and concerning any matter within the jurisdiction of the Legislature and connected with the good government of Saskatchewan, or the conduct of the public business thereof, or which is, in his opinion of sufficient public importance, may appoint one or more commissioners to make such inquiry and to report thereon.

The Minister further states that by Section 5 of the said The Public Inquiries Act, it is provided that the Commissioners, if thereunto authorized by the Lieutenant Governor in Council, may engage the services of such accountants, engineers, technical advisers, or other experts, clerks, reporters and assistants as they deem necessary or advisable, and also the services of counsel to aid and assist the commissioners in the inquiry.

The Minister further states that on the 7th day of March, 1952, the following Resolution was submitted on the motion of the Minister to and passed by the Legislative Assembly:

"That this Assembly, recognizing

(a) that in recent years the rapid increase of farm mechanization and the widespread adoption of new agricultural methods have resulted in basic changes in rural life and the farm economy of Saskatchewan, and

(b) that these economic trends are creating new rural social problems as well as adversely affecting the ability of our young people to become established in the agricultural industry, and

(c) that these trends also offer an opportunity for further extending the amenities of rural life,

agrees it is advisable that the Provincial Government should appoint a Royal Commission to investigate and make recommendations regarding the requirements for the maintenance of a sound farm economy and the improvement of social conditions and amenities in rural Saskatchewan, and recommends that such Commission, in its inquiry and recommendations, have particular reference to:

(1) the problems involved in present day trends in agricultural production, land use and farm costs;

(2) the need for farm capital and credit;

(3) the further adaption of social services and educational facilities to meet changing rural conditions; and

(4) the further development of rural transportation, communication and community services."

Upon consideration of the foregoing report and on the recommendation of the President of the Council, the Executive Council advises that a Commission do issue to William Bernard Baker, Professor; Henry Llewellyn Fowler, Secretary; both of the City of Saskatoon; Joseph Lee Phelps, Farmer, of the Postal District of Wilkie; Charles William Gibbings, Farmer, of the Postal District of Rosetown; Nancy Adams, Housewife, of the Postal District of Ethelton; and Tabaldo Henry Bourassa, Merchant, of the Town of LaFleche; all in the Province of Saskatchewan, of which Commission the said William Bernard Baker shall be Chairman, for the purpose of having an exhaustive study and inquiry made into and concerning and to make recommendations regarding the requirements for the maintenance of a sound farm economy and the improvement of social conditions and amenities in rural Saskatchewan, having particular reference in their inquiry and recommendations to:

(1) the problems involved in present day trends in agricultural production, land use and farm costs;

(2) the need for farm capital and credit;

(3) the further adaption of social services and educational facilities to meet changing rural conditions; and

(4) the further development of rural transportation, communication and community services;

and for these purposes to consult with all organizations and individuals interested and to accept for consideration, articles, submissions or other representations made by or on behalf of interested persons or organizations, and to include in their considerations any questions which they may hold to be relevant.

The Executive Council further advises that in addition to the powers conferred upon commissioners by the said The Public Inquiries Act, the said commissioners be authorized to engage the services of such accountants, engineers, technical advisers, or other experts, clerks, reporters and assistants as they deem necessary or advisable and also the services of counsel to aid and assist the Commissioners in the inquiry.

The Executive Council further advises that the expenditures of the Commissioners for the inquiry and report be limited to the amounts approved by the Legislature for this purpose.

(Signed) J. M. Telford,
Clerk Executive Council

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

ROYAL COMMISSION ON AGRICULTURE AND RURAL LIFE

Regina, Saskatchewan,
September 26, 1956.

The Honourable T. C. Douglas,
Premier of Saskatchewan.

Dear Sir:

We have the honour to transmit herewith a report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life on The Home and Family in Rural Saskatchewan. This is the tenth report of the Commission pursuant to the Order in Council of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor in Council dated the 31st day of October, 1952, O.C. 2442/52.

Your Commission presents this report in the belief that all progress in the direction of an improved agriculture and rural life must find its truest measure in the home. This study demonstrates the close dependence of the rural family on the productivity of the farm. In general, improvement for home and family must wait until the costs of production are satisfied. Despite significant advances much remains to be done in bringing the conveniences and satisfactions of modern farm living to our rural families.

Respectfully submitted,

Nancy Adams
Mrs. Nancy Adams

W. B. Baker, Chairman

T. H. Bourassa
T. H. Bourassa

H. Fowler
H. L. Fowler

Chas W. Gibbings
Chas. W. Gibbings

J. L. Phelps
J. L. Phelps

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

The rural family forms the foundation of rural life. As agriculture provides the main material base of rural society, the family is its social base. The ways of living of rural families shape the course of rural social movements. Since the family is not isolated, it interacts with the community around it. In the words of one authority on the family:

> From the beginnings of culture there has been an intimate web of interrelationships between the family and other institutions because the persons who make up the family are also participants in the economic, religious, and other social activities of a community. Never has the family lived alone.[1]

Just as the family affects society, so economic and social changes in society affect the character of the family. The family is not static but differs in outlook, patterns of behaviour, and characteristics with changes in methods of production and in social institutions. That the rural family has altered its character since the days of settlement does not mean that it is more or less a "family." It is simply a different type of family. The bonds of affection and support within the rural family may be as strong as they were in the earlier family in a different environment.

Because the rural family thus interacts with society, this report on the rural family must be considered in conjunction with all the other reports of the Commission. The characteristics of the rural family today are important for solutions to the problems created by changes in the rural environment. Not only are the material conditions of living of the rural family important, but the relationships obtaining within the family affect the solution of problems created, for instance, by the mechanization of agriculture and the movement of farm people.

At many points, the study of the home and family overlaps with other reports of the Commission. For example, income, including savings, and the related problem of security are basic in any consideration of material level of living. The Commission's research into markets and prices, mechanization and farm costs, farm income, land tenure, and farm credit are closely related to this report. Services, such as education, recreation, medical care, commercial services, churches, fire and police protection, and the accessibility of such services through good roads are an important part of the rural level of living. The Commission has conducted research on trade centers, local government, and education, all of which throw light on the status of services. Finally, in the study of the movement of farm people there is evidence of a relationship between rural levels of living and the motivations that lead people to migrate from the country. In all reports of this Commission, then, some relationship exists between the subject matter of the particular report and the rural home in Saskatchewan.

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[1] Bernhard J. Stern, "The Family and Cultural Change," American Sociological Society, reprinted in Fowler V. Harper, *Problems of the Family*, Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., Indianapolis, 1952, p. 45.

In Canada, the problems of the family have been a much neglected field of study.[1] Although a few studies have been done through the years, there is need for further exploration of the conditions of living, relationships, and problems of families across Canada. Economic, sociological, psychological, and legal investigations of the family are plentiful in the United States and elsewhere, but specific conditions and problems of Canadian families remain to be analysed. In Saskatchewan as well, the family has been the subject of relatively little previous research. Although folk knowledge about families is great and the analogy to conditions of the family in the United States is strong, there has not been much carefully collected data constituting a reliable base from which a study like this one could proceed.

The Purpose and Plan of This Report

The purpose of this report is to examine various aspects of rural homes and families in the changing environment of rural Saskatchewan. The level of living of rural families in its broadest sense is assumed to be the central concern of the rural family, and the Commission has therefore focused its study on the level of living of rural families. "Standard of living" in this report means how people would like to live, but "level of living" is how they actually do live.

Included in the concept of level of living as used here are the houses in which rural people live, the amenities with which the homes are furnished, the food and clothing that sustain and protect people, the kinds of commercial services they need—in short, the many material items necessary for family living. But also included in the concept for purposes of this study are non-material items—the efficiency and skill with which family members utilize their material resources, the use of leisure time, the kinds of relationships maintained among the family members in order to attain their goals, the distribution of responsibilities—in short, anything that bears on the happiness and welfare of the home.

Traditional level of living studies have often confined themselves to income or to the consumption of material items. Admittedly, it is more difficult to study the non-material items. Both aspects, however, are important. The Commission did not wish to neglect either one, although limitations of time and personnel compelled more emphasis on certain features of family living than on others.

---

[1] See, however, the excellent studies by Dr. Helen C. Abell and others, cited later in this report.

In adopting a broad interpretation of the term "level of living," the Commission is following the ideas of many farmers themselves. When the Canada Department of Agriculture asked a sample of 202 central Alberta farmers in 1952 what the term "level of living" meant to them, it found that their responses could be classified as being in purely materialistic terms (e.g., food, clothing, and shelter), or in purely non-materialistic terms (e.g., satisfying family and social contacts), or a combination of the two. Only 44.5 per cent answered exclusively in materialistic terms, and 48.1 per cent mentioned at least some non-materialistic items, although only 25 per cent answered exclusively or primarily in non-materialistic terms. It was noted that a person who rated very high in material possessions did not necessarily equate his own concept of level of living with only these possessions.[3] This recognition of the non-material aspects of family living would seem to justify attention to the matter of family relationships.

So broad is the study area which is suggested by this concept of the level of living of rural families that the Commission could not attempt a comprehensive study of Saskatchewan families as such but rather has spotlighted certain features of family living which seem most related to the other rural problems studied by the Commission.

Chapter II enumerates the problems affecting rural families as seen by the public. Rural people in their communities did not discuss the rural family as such but addressed their attention to specific problems affecting the home and family. The opinion in this chapter is therefore largely a summary of the opinions of provincial organizations, particularly women's and church groups, and of consultants—farm women with experience in women's organizations and home economists and home management specialists.

Chapter III traces the material level of living of farm families from the time of settlement to the present. Housing, conveniences, fuel, food, water supply, and methods of transportation are briefly sketched for each of four time periods—the pioneer era, World War I and the postwar years, the depression, and the contemporary period of mechanization and urbanization.

Chapter IV describes the amenities of family living today. The number and condition of rural houses in Saskatchewan are described, and analysis is made of the extent of possession of electricity and piped-in water supply and the conveniences they make possible.

Chapter V presents the results of a field study of family organization and relationships undertaken by the Commission in the summer of 1953. Family relationships in a sample of 160 farm families in four areas of the province are compared with what is presumed to have been the pattern of family relationships in the earlier farm family in order to measure the extent to which family relationships today differ from those in the past. The characteristics of what seems to be an emerging farm family are briefly described.

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[3] Helen C. Abell, *Alberta Farm Operators and the Level of Living Concept, 1952, Report No. 2*, Economics Division, Canada Department of Agriculture, 1952, pp. 3 and 11.

Chapter VI discusses the many and changing roles of farm women. This chapter is based on a survey of members of the Homemakers' Clubs conducted by the Commission, and the data are therefore pertinent mainly to this group. But the subject is of primary importance because the status and roles of women reflect the impact of a changing environment on the form and function of the family.

Chapter VII describes the services available to aid the rural home and family from governmental, commercial, and voluntary organizations. This chapter also outlines the need and possibilities for a broadened extension service to aid the rural family.

Chapter VIII summarizes the solutions to problems of the rural family proposed by provincial organizations and consultants.

Chapter IX sets forth the Commission's conclusions, derived from the material in previous chapters.

Chapter X contains the recommendations of the Commission.

Methods of Analysis

A number of methods were adopted to obtain material for this report. The Commission started with information presented in community forums and briefs on problems that affect the rural family. The statements of provincial organizations and consultants on the rural home and family were also considered.

The Commission undertook three surveys for this report. One survey was an exploratory inquiry into home management practices and other activities of a selected group of farm women. A questionnaire study was designed, and 125 members of the Homemakers' Clubs were questioned on their homemaking activities. In addition, changes in family organization were studied through a sample survey of 160 farm wives, in which trained interviewers sought data on family relationships. Finally, to study the character of services provided to rural homemakers, a questionnaire was sent to 30 groups—governmental, voluntary, and commercial—that provide services to the home and family.

Provincial statistics and material from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics were also utilized. Recent data on the extent of electrification of farms were procured from the Saskatchewan Power Corporation. In 1951, the Census Division of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics had gathered information on amenities of living on a 20 per cent sample basis. This was a much larger sampling than the Commission could have undertaken, and the changes that might have taken place in two years were not considered great enough to alter the data seriously. Arrangements were therefore made with the Census Division to secure at nominal cost some of the information in a more precise breakdown than had been published.

Finally, data on the level of living of farm families in the past were taken from historical and literary sources, including the histories prepared by local communities in honour of Saskatchewan's Golden Jubilee. Other writings on the home and family that were utilized are cited in the text.

Acknowledgments

The Commission is indebted to thousands of farm men and women whose interest in public issues brought them out to community forums and hearings and whose comment and experience on problems affecting the rural family were invaluable. Provincial organizations, particularly church groups and women's groups, provided useful information. The experience and knowledge of consultants who had worked in this field were also very helpful. Questionnaires were completed by members of the Homemakers' Clubs and by groups servicing the rural family. Farm women co-operated in granting interviews for the Commission survey of family organization. Technical assistance was given by agencies of the Provincial and Federal Governments.

Special recognition is due to M. Brownstone for his invaluable contribution as Director of Research of the Secretariat, and to C. B. Cleland, Assistant Professor of Sociology, North Dakota Agricultural College, the research analyst responsible for this report. David Gosslee, of North Dakota Agricultural College provided valuable advice on statistical techniques. Mrs. Ruth Roemer contributed in the final stages of report preparation.

CHAPTER II

Problems of the Rural Family as Seen by Rural People

The thinking of rural people on problems of the rural family was presented to the Commission by communities, provincial organizations, and consultants. Communities in their briefs did not discuss the rural family as such. Their thinking was framed rather in terms of specific problems that affect the rural home and family. Discussion of problems of markets and prices reflected the desire for an improved level of living and greater security. Discussion of problems of education reflected concern for the welfare of children and the preservation of the values of rural life. Thus, other reports of the Commission—the reports on Mechanization, Agricultural Credit, Land Tenure, Markets and Prices, Education, and Movement of Farm People—all express the thinking of rural people on economic and service problems that affect the family in the rural community. The views of rural people on the home and family, particularly on the pioneer family, have been presented in the extensive materials assembled for publication in honour of Saskatchewan's Fiftieth Jubilee. Some of this material is summarized in Chapter III.

Only women's and church organizations of the provincial organizations dealt explicitly with values of rural life and methods of improving farm family living. The bulk of information in this chapter comes from consultants from whom the Commission sought advice. Some consultants were farm women with long experience in women's organizations. Others were home economists and home management specialists. Problems affecting the rural family discussed largely by organizations and consultants included the impact of the changing rural environment on the family, changes in family organization, the level of living of farm families, and the problems of farm home management.

Impact of Changing Environment on the Rural Family

Community briefs pointed out that the mechanization and commercialization of agriculture and the growing interchange between farm and town populations have brought great changes to the farm home and farm family. Consultants stated that the movement of people away from rural areas and the provision of services to those who remain in rural areas are affecting farm families. "Today the home is influenced more than it is influencing," one farm woman consultant stated. Another pointed out:

> "Humanity is passing through an age of tumult and upheaval. Nowhere is this felt more acutely than among those engaged in agriculture. The ancient custom of the family home handed down from generation to generation has gone. The patriarchal type of family life where the father was

> master and dictator is no more. . . . The West was settled *after* the breakup of the patriarchal type of family life; *after* the generation by generation holding of the family home; *after* the removal of handicrafts and education from the home and at the beginning of the era of power machinery, fluid population, cheap credit, and the opening of world markets on unprecedented scale. . . .
>
> "Power machinery and household apparatus, together with other factors such as exclusive grain production (have) established a leisure pattern throughout most of the year . . . old patterns of thought are breaking up. . . . These additions to human knowledge react upon ancient beliefs in religion, in ethics, and in moral standards. Many are not able to 'think their way through' to a satisfactory philosophy of life. Lack of basic philosophy coupled with leisure and the dissolution of ethnic mores combine to produce an unsettled and to a certain extent an unstable and frustrated population."

Improved transportation, consultants felt, has broadened the area within which rural people associate. At the same time, it has made it more difficult for rural parents to guide their children's activities and choice of friends.

Economic Conditions

The general increase in incomes, it was felt, has led to a higher level of living for some farm families. Nevertheless, the Saskatchewan Conference of the *United Church of Canada* discussed the effect of the basic insecurity of agriculture on farm families:

> "Rural life in Saskatchewan has always been plagued with a feeling of insecurity. Many settlers came to make homes. Many came with the hope of large crops in favourable years with a 'get rich quick and get out' philosophy. The bad years have done much to undermine the 'permanent home on the prairie.' And the good years have swelled the ranks of those who feel it was right to get your good crops when you can and get out. At the same time life continues, and must be lived as a community. In adversity there is a kindred feeling that 'we are all in the same fix.' In prosperity there is the continual fear that it can't last and the insecurity prompts some to spend furiously and some to hoard and a smaller few to invest for permanency in the community. This insecurity is seen in the appearance of our farm buildings, in the appearance of our schools, or our church buildings and our villages But all of these physical manifestations of insecurity are outward symbols of the deeper insecurity which pervades all of life."

One consultant stated that although "the changes that are now affecting Saskatchewan homes are taking place everywhere," a single pattern of adjustment has not occurred. This consultant warned that "we should not fall into the error of impoverishing ourselves morally and spiritually to promote our material welfare."

Mechanization

The Saskatchewan Conference Branch of the *Woman's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada* referred to the effect of mechanization on rural community life:

> "Stabilization of community life has broken down . . . mechanized farming and better transportation facilities (have led) farmers to spend the minimum time on the farm."

The economic hardships of mechanization were described by one farm housewife thus:

> "We farm one-half section but we still have to have the same machinery as one with a section, and it is the same price. We have tried to get along with the smallest but with last year's large crop we found this was false economy as our combine and tractor were too small. Cars too are the same price for the small land owners and the large one."

A farm woman consultant felt that farm families had adapted themselves to the changed methods of farming resulting from mechanization, but "in their pattern of living they have not been able to make the changeover quite as well. . . . We may be able to harvest with the combine more economically but we have lost touch with our neighbours."

Consultants also pointed out that mechanization has increased unemployment in the winter months. Inability to adjust to enforced leisure has caused family frictions in some cases. In addition, mechanization has increased the hazard of farm accidents, particularly for older people who find it difficult to adjust their skills. Mechanization has also made the job of farming more complicated and demanding.

Partly as a result of mechanization, patterns of living have changed, since less family labour is required on the farm. The change from mixed farming to grain farming has decreased the responsibility of children because of the lack of farm chores and, some consultants felt, has deprived them of the experience of joint family endeavours. Poor land use practices associated with straight grain growing, it was contended, have meant changes for the farm family, since these practices tend to destroy the economic foundation for family life.

Movement of Farm People

The discussion by communities of the movement of farm people away from rural areas is summarized in the Commission's report on Movement of Farm People. Little was said of the effect of this trend on the rural family.

Consultants were asked to comment on "the major implications of the movement of farm families into villages and towns from the point of view of sound family relations." On the whole, they believed that the movement of people from rural areas has contributed to profound changes in the rural family. These changes affect both the level and standard of living of the family and the relationships within the family and the community.

With respect to the material level of living, a move to town often requires the upkeep of two sets of buildings. This added responsibility, consultants stated, may result in the neglect of either the farm or the town home or both. The movement of people, consultants felt, has increased the tendency to slum areas in both rural and urban localities. Living costs may increase with the upkeep of two homes. More consumer goods and more food must be purchased. One consultant went so far as to state that a move to town relegates farming operations to second place in family interests.

The main effect of the movement of farm people, it was felt, was on family relations. The greater dependence on the outside world that has developed from urbanization of the family has created a tendency for the family to "shrink from responsibility," some consultants said. One indicated that children lose all identity with the farm. Joint family activities such as raising sheep and poultry are no longer possible. Many agreed that "this tends to a destruction of close family relationships." The family tends to split up, with each member going his or her way, once it moves to town. Specific problems faced by the farm family that moves to town are the wise use of leisure time and increased demand for spending money to meet an altered standard of living.

Some consultants felt, however, that family relationships may be strengthened by a move to town. "Increased leisure . . . for all members of the family would permit an increase of both formal and informal social participation with accompanying satisfactions." But the farm family that has moved faces a problem in adjusting to its urban living arrangements, and those families that remain in rural areas need to adjust to changing patterns of rural services.

Most consultants believed that the trend away from the farm is permanent. One suggested that a move to town has always been the objective of many Saskatchewan farmers. Another felt the permanence of the move depended on the provision of adequate services in the rural areas. Some believed a depression would reverse the movement, but most considered this doubtful, since a return to the country would be impossible in many cases because of lack of housing.

Consultants stated that migration of farm youth to urban jobs affects family relationships in several ways. The young people are deprived of close parental guidance. The parents have increased worries while the children are away. When they return, parents are inclined to be too lenient with them in their joy at having them home. At the same time, urban values are introduced in the farm home by the visiting children. One consultant felt this migration was "natural"; another added that "a reasonable migration is a good thing." The Saskatchewan Conference Branch of the *Woman's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada,* however, deplored the migration of young people from rural areas to larger urban centers. Migration of young people may also contribute to some families' moving to town. It may, in addition, reduce the number of potential spouses for young people who remain on the farm.[1]

Consultants believed that farm young people are not at any great disadvantage when migrating to urban areas, particularly if they have an equal education. One consultant felt it was hard to make a comparison as the group that is migrating is actually a selected group—one that has the qualifications required for urban jobs. Most consultants felt that farm young people may have an advantage over urban youth because they have been trained in self-reliance and have a better understanding of natural science. One consultant felt, however, that farm young people might be at a disadvantage socially in not having had associations built up in town from childhood.

Education

Changes in rural education have also affected the farm family. The *Diocese of Saskatchewan of the Church of England in Canada* deplored the encroachment of the school on the home. "Home life is disrupted by the ever-increasing demands made by the school upon the time of the pupils." The value of both the home and the Church are "endangered," it said, through this constant encroachment. "In an attempt to close an imagined 'gap' in the child's experience by filling up every available moment with school activity, no time is left for the complementary aspects of the child's life."

Two consultants felt that the larger unit of school administration, with its dormitories and school buses, was "doing more to ruin the farm family than any other factor." Concern was repeatedly expressed for the amount of time school children spend away from home. One consultant said that "the closely-knit farm family . . . is almost a thing of the past. The authority and example of teachers and schoolmates replace that of father and mother. At a time when children are in greatest need of their parents, conditions are making them strangers in their own homes." Another consultant, in speaking of the centralization of schools that has increased the time children are away from home, stated:

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[1] Frank Uhlir and Helen Abell, *Rural Young People and Their Future Plans,* Economics Division, Canada Department of Agriculture, 1953, p. 8.

> "Both home chores and recreational activities are neglected. . . . Parent-child relationships are made more difficult because children are up early to go to school and return home tired."

At the same time, of course, farm children are now going further with their education, but this tends to decrease their desire to be farmers. They ask, "With our high education why should we be farmers and work hard as Dad did?"

Changes in Family Organization

Family Relationships

That the rural public considered the family an important institution is implicit in the discussion of problems affecting the welfare of rural people. Religious groups particularly articulated the importance of the family. The *Newman Club* stated:

> "The family itself is the very core of human society. . . . Agriculture can be most easily suited to the family as a unit. . . . The rural way of life is a perfect setting for the all-important task of rearing a family."

The *Roman Catholic Hierarchy* stated:

> "The family is the basic unit of society. It is here we find the source of increase and the agencies for the training and the education of the children. . . . The farm is the natural dwelling place of the family. . . . Agrarian society is unique in preserving strong family life by giving it strength, permanence, unity, and the seldom dissolution of the marriage bond. . . . Agrarian life . . . by its very makeup tends to strengthen the marriage bond. On the farm the wife is, of necessity, a business partner. The farm home is the head office while the parents and children all work together for the success of the farm. In fact, on the farm children are frequently economic assets whereas in the city they are, from birth to maturity, economic liabilities. . . . The authority of rural parents is more pronounced and more respected. Farm children . . . are better able to receive religious and moral ideals from their parents. The farm home offers the only extended occupational apprenticeship left in Canada, an apprenticeship where the parents are the teachers and every year of apprenticeship consolidates the domestic bond. . . . Recreation and even religion are more of a family affair in the country than in the city."

Many forces are effecting change in the organization of the family and rural social life. They were summarized thus by one consultant:

> "Within just a few years, Saskatchewan farm communities have experienced a world-wide depression, devastating drought and a world war. . . . The farm home tries to act as 'buffer zone' to break the shock of changes going on around it. But every change has seemed to set off a chain reaction that finally explodes on the farm family's doorstep and rocks the very foundations of the home itself."

One change noted, in the words of the Saskatchewan Conference Branch of the *Woman's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada,* was "the breakdown of family oneness"—a change from activities that involve the whole family to those that engage individual members of the family separately. The *Saskatchewan Natural History Society* stated, however, that the breakdown of the family is not inevitable, that "the home life of a country family may be enriched and made more attractive by promoting a healthy interest in nature and conservation." It stressed the need for "suitable books, magazines, radio programs to inform the children and parents and stimulate interest in natural history." Family life could be improved by "encouraging children to bring home information from school re birds, animals and conservation. Parents and children will enjoy learning new ways of conserving all our resources."

Most consultants felt that changes in agricultural technology have affected and will continue to affect the roles and responsibilities of members of the family and the integration of the family. One consultant suggested, however, that roles and responsibilities are not different, but there is a change in parents' ideas of what is right and wrong in child upbringing. Still another dissented from the general view that technological change affects family relationships:

> "This is a free country with each and every family living their own particular way of life. I consider this to be personal and no person or group has any right to interfere with a family's way of living."

Rural Social Life

Beyond the family and in the rural community, changing patterns of rural recreation have raised problems that affect the relationships of the farm family. All but a few consultants felt that the provision of suitable recreation in rural areas has become a problem. One stated that farm family recreation is "a thing of the past." Another added that there is less of "families enjoying things together" or less of the "home-brewed kind" of recreation. "The present tendency seems to be to jump into a car and go somewhere to be amused. The art of playing games, reading or amusing one another has passed out of the picture." One commented that not enough time is taken to relax at home, and another pointed out that the long hours of work in some seasons interfere with attempts to make recreation a family affair. Country dances have changed from neighbourly socials to commercialized affairs, where people drink liquor and attend in cliques. "There are few homes where an abundance of books is available and where all members of the family take part in music, instead of listening to the radio program selected by the most demanding member of the family."

The Rural Church

The church in rural areas affects family relationships. Several church groups described the problems of the rural church today. The *Anglican Vicarage of Hodgeville* brought the problem of spiritual training and development to the attention of the Commission and spoke of the need for the "whole rural community" to take up this work, recognizing at the same time "that it is primarily the chief concern of the Christian Church."

The Saskatchewan Conference of the *United Church of Canada* stated:

> "Permanence and satisfactory community can only be achieved where there is faith in the ongoingness of God—a sense of history with a divine purpose. Only such a faith can bring forth in permanent fashion a conscientious stewardship of natural resources and of spiritual values. This is a first responsibility of the Church. However, we recognize this as a joint

responsibility. Agricultural extension and Government agencies, who share this common aim, also need this philosophy of Divine relatedness. Hence, both Church and these other agencies should seek opportunities for expressing to the public their common faith and ideal."

The Qu'Appelle Men's Association of the Moosomin Anglican Church felt that church support, although not so great as that given by the past generation, has nevertheless improved since the end of World War II. Changes in conditions of living and the influence of the war have created "a general attitude of taking our religious beliefs less seriously than a generation ago." There is some evidence of deterioration of moral life in communities, according to this group, but this is "difficult to assess." Certain improvements, such as a readiness "to respond to the needs of our neighbors," were considered important by this Association.

The Woman's Missionary Society of the United Church of Canada suggested that the "ability to travel greater distances has resulted in the disbanding of country church organizations." Added to this has been the complexity of modern living, which has resulted in the church's becoming "a last loyalty on time and energy. . . . All too often the church is sought out only in case of emergency when there is no other course left." This organization recognized many ways in which church life could be made more effective but particularly stressed the importance of the home as a "stronghold of the true Christian spirit." In referring to the role of women in keeping churches open under adverse conditions, this organization stated that "more women must bring their Christian faith to life in word and deed."

One farm forum group, the *Rush Lake Webbers,* referred to the lack of clergymen as the "greatest problem in regard to churches."

Evaluation by consultants of the contribution of the rural church to family living varied from "it is the greatest of all" and "absolutely necessary" to "considerable" and "it has a declining influence." Handicaps under which the church is now operating are lack of trained staff and inadequate funds. Where church buildings have been moved to town or rural churches closed, the result has been that fewer families now attend church.

One farm woman consultant felt that "where there are rural churches . . . farm families enjoy a higher level of family living and the community in general is much better in civic responsibility and recreation." The opposite is true where there is no rural church, with the result that "while the churches are sending missionaries to foreign lands, the heathen are growing on their own doorstep." One extension worker pointed to the value of the church building to the community. It is often the only reasonable place for meetings and extension activities.

Level of Living of Farm Families

Rural people were deeply concerned about the level of living of farm families — their income, housing, food, and comforts and conveniences. Fundamental to securing the amenities of life for rural people is adequate income, and repeated comment was made on the insecurity and variability of farm income, fluctuating with production conditions and market prices. The *Labor-Progressive Party* referred to the fact that 51.8 per cent of all Saskatchewan farmers (exclusive of farms designated "part-time" and "institutional"), according to the 1951 census, "sold less than $2,500 worth of products off their farms" in 1950. The conclusion is inescapable, this group stated, "that, despite all the loose talk about farm prosperity, more than half the farmers of the province of Saskatchewan are living today on the edge of poverty."

One consultant called attention to the effect that the trend to straight grain production may have on the dietary standards of rural families. Farm people who no longer keep livestock or grow vegetables may not have enough of the protective foods for adequate nutrition. The lack of good transport and of refrigeration in farm homes may also create barriers to sound nutrition.

Housing

Rural communities made little direct reference to farm housing in community briefs. Few comments were made at community hearings on the construction or layout of farm homes.

Consultants, however, were sharp in their criticism of rural housing. One consultant stated that "the majority of rural homes are of little better construction and with no more conveniences than those of our grandparents" and pointed to the need for better insulation, ventilation, basements, and particularly rural electrification. Another consultant stated that in one local improvement district about 70 per cent of the people "are still living in two-room log houses accommodating a family of 6 to 10 members."

Most consultants thus agreed that farm housing is a neglected aspect of rural development. One added the qualification that the majority of farm homes had been improved in the past two years. Another, living in a prosperous farm area, felt that the only neglect occurred where there were two homes, one in town and one on the farm.

Adequate housing is looked upon as "comfort" spending by some consultants. Consequently, it receives secondary attention. "Shacks are a necessity, houses a luxury," stated one consultant. Another, agreeing to the need for primary attention to the farm, added, "It is still not right for the cows to be better housed than the family."

The state of farm housing depends very much on the individual farmer, according to one consultant. "Where there's a well-adjusted family they go to work and build up a beautiful farm to the best of their ability."

Some consultants did not agree that there is any neglect in attention to farm housing. One claimed that most rural homes are better than most urban homes. "Farmers improve homes just as fast as finances permit." Referring to farm housing in sections of Alberta and Ontario, one pair of consultants drew the conclusion that farm housing "does not appear to be a neglected aspect of rural development at the present time."

In general, however, consultants felt that rural housing in Saskatchewan could be vastly improved. Two consultants referred to the inadequacy of credit facilities for farm housing. They also felt that the removal of services to town creates a feeling of insecurity that deters farm improvements.

Comforts and Conveniences

Provincial organizations pointed to the lack of conveniences in many rural areas that are essential for health and comfort. The *South Lashburn Homemakers* considered the need for sewage systems as a means of lightening farm work "the homemaker's most important problem." The *Saskatchewan Homemakers' Clubs* also mentioned the deficiencies of lack of running water and lack of sanitary conveniences.

One consultant stated:

> "Improvements are noticeable in every home, but there is more needed to make more comfortable and more convenient places to live in. As far as food and clothing are concerned, they are not in need of same. Linoleums and washing machines could be seen in most of the homes but very little furniture which is half decent."

Another consultant commented on the inadequate water supply for many farms both in quantity and quality. The lack of hot water was considered a serious problem in convenience and sanitation.

Trees and Gardens

Several briefs commented on the value of shelterbelts, flower gardens, and pleasant surroundings to provide a suitable environment for children and thus help create an appreciation of rural living. The *Department of Horticulture* of the University's College of Agriculture commented on the need for understanding and appreciation of the role of horticulture in farming. From the point of view of both food production and beautiful natural surroundings, horticulture is "essential in the development of a normal and well-balanced individual." Deficiencies in this field are "in evidence in the absence of trees and the absence of well-rounded gardens. Tree plantings are recognized to be a great asset on the farm and yet on relatively few farms are such plantations to be found. Flower gardens are found in a few cases. Fruit plantations are a rarity. Even vegetable gardens are absent on many farms." These deficiencies in rural living, it was felt, are due to a lack of appreciation of horticulture in the cultural background of some Saskatchewan people and inadequate teaching of "an appreciation of the result of the art" in our schools.

The brief from the *Canadian Forestry Association* favoured planting more trees on farms:

> "In the use of trees as shelterbelts and field shelters, many thousands of farm families have taken practical steps to safeguard their soil and ensure a greater measure of pleasure and comfort in their rural life."

With the trend to mechanization, farmers concentrate on production to make their equipment pay and have not given much attention to beautifying the grounds of the home, according to one farm woman consultant. Farm beautification would help greatly to make rural life more attractive.

Variations Between Town and Country

Most consultants thought that the level of living of farm families was lower than that of urban families. Farm families are at a disadvantage with respect to running water, light, and telephone, for which, as one farmer said, "the farmer has to make a greater cash outlay" than the urban dweller. Other items mentioned were "warm, spacious, attractive living quarters" and "family comfort items." Nevertheless, these differences in material aspects of life between rural and urban areas are decreasing.

In local services also it was felt that the level of living of farm families is lower than that of urban families. Consultants stated that schooling is inferior in rural areas, particularly with respect to school buildings and sanitary facilities, quality of teachers, extra-curricular activities, and accessibility of secondary education facilities. Church facilities, they stated, are also less adequate, as are health services, library services, and recreational and cultural facilities.

These shortcomings in the level of living of farm families affect rural family relations in the opinion of consultants. The farm housewife is forced to work harder and longer. A lower level of living may lead to discontent, a disharmony within the family, and a feeling of inferiority. It creates a desire to leave the farm or to influence children not to return to the farm.

Not all consultants agreed that the level of living on farms was lower than that in urban centers. One stated that " it is not lower, but much higher." Another referred to her own district, where "all farmers have hydro" and are beginning to get water systems. "Then it will be equal to the urban level." A third consultant pointed out that it was the lack of electrification that makes a lower farm living level, but with power "a farm has all the advantages." Those consultants who felt rural levels of living compared favourably with urban levels stated that "rural family relations are healthier and more to be desired than urban" and that "family life is on a higher plane in the rural areas."

Home Management

Numerous briefs commented on the work involved in running a farm home. One farm woman described with feeling the back-breaking work of maintaining a farm home without electricity.

> "I believe lack of electrical power has been a large handicap and grievance. Homes cannot be modernized without it. How many women have ruined health from overwork? They must carry water in heavy pails—great quantities of water are needed in a farm home. Few farm homes have cisterns. . . .
>
> "Imagine the extra work involved in just one task—canning. . . .
>
> "Meat must be canned also. Not when the housewife wishes but when the animal or animals raised are ready for butchering or previous to a period of rush work like seeding time or harvest. There can be no quick freeze or deep freeze unit without power. It would be a godsend for meat. Also it would be handy to store the very few fruits and vegetables that can be successfully kept that way.
>
> "Of course we can use gasoline powered engines, lamps, irons, washing machines and refrigerators, but they are cumbersome, unreliable, untidy and dangerous. Of course, they are a great improvement over candles or coal oil lamps and the washboard or flat stone.
>
> "On the farm there is always dust brought into the house on clothing, especially when the men work in the fields—a great deal of the time. So cleaning it from furniture and floors takes up much time and energy. With electricity and a vacuum cleaner we could do it properly without filling the air with dust to be breathed in causing further troubles.
>
> "Laundry is a large, heavy problem. . . . Electricity could help supply the necessary quantities of hot water as well as run the washer. It could even help drain off the dirty water. Laundry alone is a full-time task.
>
> "Then there is ironing and pressing, churning butter, separating milk and cream, cooling or refrigeration of that product, sterilization of the utensils used, baking and cooking. . . .

> "There is the constant danger of fire when coal oil or gasoline lamps are used, especially when there are children in the home. . . . The results are tragic as we know from reported incidents. Falls are caused by inadequate lighting. Light at the door is a safety measure and saves nervous strain if someone is alone in a country home. All farm women know loneliness and what it is to be alone.
>
> "The instant light at night when there is sickness or trouble is worth a great deal. Much safer than the old-fashioned night light that only glows dimly but can start a fire. A baby in the house makes instant heat and light very desirable.
>
> "What time has the farm woman for gracious living? Or what energy would she have left? Early risers cannot be out in the evening. Produce plays—to take a little time when tired and busy to encourage children at play or start them playing together is a great effort. Usually time spent thus means extra work late. The reason for so many farm accidents is because the mother has no time to supervise her children at play. . . .
>
> "I hope my appeal is considered. I have lived among rural women and have heard their grievances. I know the comfort of a city home with its running water, instant light, electrical appliances. How heavenly it would be after gardening, feeding chickens, and other chores to run a hot bath in a clean bathroom. Most farm women must put the wash tub on the stove to heat after carrying the water and wood. Bathe hastily in the kitchen, to save more heavy carrying and empty the bath by carrying it outdoors."

The *College of Home Economics* of the University of Saskatchewan and the *Saskatchewan Homemakers' Clubs* mentioned the difficulty of obtaining domestic help for farm homes. The *College of Home Economics* stated that the farm housewife has greater need for domestic help than the urban housewife:

> "Her children (as a source of help) are away from home for longer periods of the day. She has greater difficulty in securing services of plumber, painter, carpenter or electrician. Gardening and other farm activities encroach on her time in various seasons of the year."

The high cost of living, both in terms of the cost of modern conveniences and the "inferior quality of goods sold," in the opinion of the *Saskatchewan Homemakers' Clubs*, presents serious problems in farm home management.

Advances in technology have eased the burden of home management and at the same time confronted the homemaker with confusing alternatives in the selection of products. The *College of Home Economics*, University of Saskatchewan, said:

> "Today the homemaker is subjected to high-pressure advertising making her constantly aware of new foods, textiles and household equipment as well as the modern trend in clothing and home decoration. . . . (This) may create imaginary needs or at the best a confusing problem when forced to make a single selection from a variety of similar products."

The Saskatchewan Branch of the *Canadian Association of Consumers* referred to the way in which the satisfaction of consumer needs has become "de-personalized" in the mechanization of "production, processing, transportation, retail and other distribution. . . . Fifty years ago the consumer was still very close to those who produced or processed—and to most of those who distributed—those necessities of life he did not produce himself." This is no longer true. Although it "may be compensated for by the wider range of consumer goods offered to us today," it is also responsible for "much misunderstanding on the part of the consumer and those supplying her needs."

Expenditures on the Home or the Farm

The *Roman Catholic Hierarchy* stressed the importance of expenditures on farm homes:

> "Farmers as a whole do not see the need of suitable homes, modern conveniences and the things which bring culture and refinement into family life. Only a very small part of their income is used to improve their homes. Farm indebtedness has risen during the past years from $3 million to over $100 million. Of this amount only 3 per cent went for home improvement while 93 per cent was spent on machinery. It is obvious that intensive education is needed to change the mental attitude of the average farmer. He should be taught to look upon his farm not just as a business but as a home. He must be taught to appreciate the things needed to bring about healthy rural family life. Comfortable, well-equipped modern homes go a long way to solve the problem of isolation. Rural electrification which helps to eliminate the drudgery of farm life should be extended at minimum cost. The work of elevating the status of the farm family must be pushed forward with rapidity if the farm is to retain the more ambitious on the land. If not, the results will be tragic, since the countryside, with its surplus of births, is the source of the nation's population."

Most consultants agreed that "secondary emphasis is placed on consumption and comfort spending" but that it is necessarily secondary to the requirements of farming. One stated that "the farm plant *must* be strongly established as a profitable business before comfort spending can be considered." Others who agreed that the primary emphasis should be placed on the farm also pointed out, however, that it is essential that the farm home be adequately equipped. One consultant summed up by stating that while "expenditures on the production unit must precede" expenditures on comforts and conveniences for the home, the question "would seem to be whether the production of income from farming is taken as an end in itself or as a means to improve family living conditions."

Where the need to plan expenditures for the farm and home jointly is not recognized and expenditures on the production unit are taken as a matter of course, the "emphasis becomes one of making a living rather than making a way of life." The housewife consequently feels her share in the partnership is unimportant, and daughters "do not feel a necessary part of the farm organization and do not take pride in their farm home or in farming as a way of life." These factors increase the tendency of young people to leave the farm.

Home Management Services

Many organizations—voluntary, governmental, and commercial—supply homemakers with information and services, making a valuable contribution to farm family living. Those mentioned most frequently included the Women's Service of the University Extension Department, Homemakers' Clubs, 4-H Clubs, the Saskatchewan Farmers Union, the University Extension Department, the Department of Public Health and its Division of Nutrition, the Saskatchewan Power Corporation with its rural electrification program, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and its school broadcasts, libraries, and other women's organizations and extension agencies.

Despite the contributions of many groups to improved farm home management, the majority of consultants felt that farm family living is not receiving adequate attention in present rural development programs. The program of the Veterans' Land Act Administration was considered exceptional in providing attention "not only to technical agricultural production but also to questions of farm and home planning and money management."

The main shortcomings of programs related to farm family living needs were identified as:

1) Poor home economics teaching in the schools, related to the lack of qualified staff;

2) Lack of research in home management and problems of farm family living along the lines of research in farm production problems;

3) Lack of information on rural homes and rural family living, as compared with information on farm production operations;

4) Lack of awareness of the need for such information;

5) Overlapping and poor coordination of services and programs. With regard to home economics training, one consultant claimed that high school courses are, in many cases, being taught by "untrained or inadequately trained teachers." As a result, "many girls have not the desire to continue home economics as a vocation."

Both the *Saskatchewan Homemakers' Clubs* and the *College of Home Economics* pointed to the need for practical assistance with homemaking problems by informed and experienced persons. Only one consultant felt further services were not necessary, stating that there is "nothing wrong with rural farm living in this area"; there are all types of farm living in every area because "farm living is according to the means of the families concerned." But most consultants stated that there was a need for additional information on home management — on budgeting of money, time, and energy, on family life education, and on skills and techniques, including meal planning and food preparation, wardrobe planning and sewing, home decoration, food preservation, and general consumer information.

Summary

Rural communities expressed their thinking on the rural home and family in discussions of specific problems that affect the family—markets and prices, education, movement of farm people, and so forth. Women's organizations, church groups, and consultants—farm women and home management specialists—addressed themselves to the material level of living of farm families, family relationships, and home management.

Impact of Changing Environment on the Rural Family

The general increase in farm income has led to higher levels of living for some farm families, although the persistently low income of many farmers and the basic insecurity of agriculture have limited improvements in farm family living.

Mechanization of agriculture has imposed financial hardships on some families because of the high capital requirements for farming. Mechanization has also meant that farmers spend less time on the farm, have increased leisure during the winter months, and need less family labour on the farm.

The movement of people away from the farms has affected both the material level of living and family relationships. The upkeep of two homes in some cases—one in town and one on the farm—imposes increased living costs. The urbanization of the farm family decreases joint family activities and tends to destruction of close family relationships. Some consultants felt, however, that a move to town might strengthen family ties because of increased leisure and opportunity for participation in social affairs. The migration of farm youth to urban jobs changes relationships within the family and may impel the movement to town of the whole family.

The centralization of school facilities and the transportation of students to centralized schools have increased the time that farm children spend away from home.

Changes in Family Organization

Some consultants noted "a breakdown of family oneness"—a change from activities that involve the whole family to those that engage individual members separately. Although this change was not considered inevitable, the majority of consultants felt that a changed agricultural technology had affected roles and responsibilities within the family. A changed pattern of rural recreation has affected family relationships. Community socials among neighbours are less frequent, and leisure time is often spent away from home. The rural church, which has been a force for cohesiveness of the family, is confronted with a shortage of clergymen, inadequate funds, and a more passive support than in the past.

Level of Living of Farm Families

The level of living of farm families is determined basically by their income, and more than half of all farmers had gross incomes of less than $2,500 in 1950. Farm housing was considered a neglected aspect of rural development. Overcrowding and poor insulation, ventilation, and basements were specifically noted, although many farm homes have been improved in the last two years. Many farm homes lack conveniences essential for health and comfort—sewage systems, water supply, and electricity. Trees and gardens need to be developed both for conservation of land and aesthetic rural living.

Most consultants believed that the level of living of farm families was lower than that of urban families. Farmers need a higher cash outlay for running water, light, and telephones. Services for the farm family are inferior or less accessible than for the urban family. But some consultants felt that rural levels of living compared favourably with urban levels, and these consultants felt that rural family relations are more satisfactory than those in urban families.

Home Management

The farm homemaker has a hard task. She often lacks conveniences and works in the home and garden without domestic help. Advances in technology have made possible the easing of the burden, but the homemaker is confronted with confusing alternatives in the selection of products.

Expenditures on the home are generally secondary to the needs of the farm plant. Although most consultants considered this proper, they felt that the home should not be neglected. If the home is neglected, "the emphasis becomes one of making a living rather than making a way of life."

Many organizations—voluntary, governmental, and commercial—supply the homemaker with information and services that are valuable to farm family living, but consultants identified a number of weaknesses in programs designed to aid farm family living. These included inadequate teaching of home economics, lack of research in home management and problems of farm family living, lack of information on rural homes, and overlapping and poor co-ordination of services and programs. Most consultants felt there is a need for additional information on home management — on budgeting of money, time, and energy, on family life education, and on skills and techniques relating to food, clothing and homes.

CHAPTER III

Levels of Living of Farm Families Through the Years

To understand the problems of the rural family today some knowledge of how the farm family lived in years gone by is helpful. The hardships and struggles of the pioneers to build a life on the undeveloped prairies, the gradual achievement of some home conveniences after the sod was broken, the years of suffering during the depression, and the surge of mechanization of agriculture and urbanization of rural people in the years following World War II explain much of how rural people live today. This history throws light not only on the desire of rural families for modern housing, rural electrification, adequate water supply and sanitation systems, and serviceable roads but also on the delays in achieving an improved standard of living for all rural families.

This chapter is an attempt to sketch changes in the material level of living of farm families in Saskatchewan. It begins with a description of how pioneer families lived in the years from 1880 to 1914. As the settlement period drew to a close, changes occurred in their level of living, and these changes in the years of World War I and the postwar years—from 1916 to 1929—are briefly reviewed. In the next decade, depression and drought reduced thousands of farm families to a mere subsistence level. And the period of mechanization of agriculture and urbanization of rural communities that accompanied World War II and the postwar years brought a general rise in living standards.

The historical description of living standards of farm families is confined to material aspects of living — housing, home conveniences, fuel, food and water supplies, and means of transportation and communication. Family relationships and non-material aspects of family living are excluded because information is less plentiful; some mention of characteristics of family relationships in the past is made in Chapter V.

Since detailed statistical information on farm incomes, cost of living, and family budgets is not available for each of the four periods described, material is drawn from literary and historical sources. Reliance is also placed on a few studies of housing and home conveniences made for limited years.

Several qualifications must be placed on any historical study of living standards and particularly on a sketch based largely on literary and historical sources. Literature is often coloured for readability purposes; historical information is usually general. No general or uniform level of living applied to all farm families. Each family lived differently; its mode of life was determined by its background, ambitions, the conditions in its locality, and its own resources. Furthermore, changes in levels of living did not occur uniformly for all families. The transition from sod huts or log cabins to frame houses, for instance, occurred at varying times for different families. But many characteristics of family living were common to all farm families, and it is this somewhat general model of farm family that is here reconstructed.

The Pioneer Family: 1880 - 1914

Materials gathered in honour of Saskatchewan's Golden Jubilee Year are rich in their accounts of pioneer life. The program of continuous research into the social history of Saskatchewan conducted by the Archives of Saskatchewan is invaluable in opening a window into the past. As one community stated,

> Life in the early days was not easy. It must be borne in mind that most of the settlers had used everything they had to get established out here in the west. It took all the capital most of them had to get to their homesteads, equip themselves and to build their buildings.[1]

The housing of the pioneers is well described in an article in *Saskatchewan History:*

> Each newcomer erected some sort of dwelling as soon as possible, usually of sod on the prairies, logs in the wooded areas, or frame shacks if lumber was available, and there was money to purchase it. The Ortons (who came to Cutknife in 1904) had a combination. . . . They completed their log house with a sod roof, but soon learned that a three-day rain outside meant a five-day rain inside. Mr. A. W. Mawby (of Wallwort), who arrived in the province in 1912, learned similarly of the deficiencies of sod roofs. "I had a sod roof shanty and when it rained for several days at a time the only dry place in the shanty was under the table which had an oilcloth on, and I put sugar, flour, etc., under it to keep dry." But the sod houses were warm, both in their protection from Saskatchewan winters and in the hospitality, the friendliness, the parties and good times contained within their walls.[2]

These houses were small, consisting of one or two rooms; a whole family often lived in a single room of 10 by 12 feet.[3] Sod houses had a peculiar odour of stuffiness,[4] and insulation in wooden shacks was achieved by covering the house with tar paper. To be sure, sod houses and log cabins were better than the tents in which settlers had to live until they built their houses;[5] but they provided only shelter, since the women "knew as well as their husbands that barn or stable and chicken houses had to be built too.[6]

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[1] Homemakers' Club of Hawarden, *The History of Hawarden and Community,* Midwest Litho Limited, Saskatoon, 1955.

[2] Evelyn Eager, "Our Pioneers Say: —," *Saskatchewan History,* Vol. VI, No. 1, Winter, 1953, p. 7.

[3] Mantario Homemakers' Club, *From Oxen to Airplane,* Midwest Litho Limited, 1955, p. 13.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 24.

[5] See Hopkins Moorhouse, "That Man Partridge," from *Deep Furrows,* reprinted in Carlyle King, *Saskatchewan Harvest,* McCelland and Stewart Limited, 1955, p. 114; May E. Davis, "I Was a Pinafore Pioneer," *Chatelaine,* August, 1955, p. 36.

[6] Jonesville Homemakers' Club, *Commencement of Compilation of the History,* 1954, p. 15.

Conveniences in the pioneer home were few. The cookstove was used not only for cooking the meals and baking bread but for heating the house as well. Common utensils were granite cooking pots, tin milk pans and dippers, heavy pottery dishes, iron pots, dutch ovens and frying pans, and a wooden butter bowl and paddle for working butter. For laundry, a tub and washboard and a water supply often some distance away made wash day hard work.

Settlers' effects generally included second-hand machinery, a team of horses, a cow or some hens, and a few household goods.[7] Few had the resources to bring a full supply of school books or medicines.[8] Robert Stead, author of novels about the prairie provinces, describes the home of one Saskatchewan settler:

> . . . a single room, about twelve by fourteen feet in size, framed with bare two-by-four studding and covered by a low, shingled roof. A rusty stove, a table, a chair, a packing-box cupboard nailed against the wall, a trunk, a gramophone, a home-made bed dishevelled in one corner—these were the items of furniture.[9]

Wood was the usual fuel in early years. On the prairies, where wood was scarce, often only green poplar could be found, which had to be soaked with coal oil.[10] It gave off a strong smell and was not a clean form of fuel. Wood, when it could be found, was often hauled a distance of 35 miles.[11] On the prairies, buffalo chips were utilized for fuel until they disappeared.[12] In some areas in southern Saskatchewan, coal was available from local sources.[13] But the provision of heat in the severe winters was a continual problem and required much hard work. The cases of illness or even death "from coal gas due to the old stoves and air tight shacks" were not infrequent.[14]

The homesteader tried to select a site for his house near water, but out of 217 pioneer informants interviewed by the Saskatchewan Archives, 60 told of a water supply one-quarter of a mile or more from the house.[15] In Mantario,

> many attempts were made by practically every settler to obtain water on their own land. Many dug wells, and as many turned out to be dry holes.[16]

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[7] See Mantario Homemakers' Club, *op. cit.*, p. 21 and *Fifty Years of Progress, Chiefly the Story of the Pioneers of the Watson District from 1900-1950*, p. 18.

[8] *Golden Threads, the Tapestry of Swarthmore*, The Swarthmore Jubilee Association, 1955, p. 14.

[9] Robert Stead, *The Smoking Flax*, McClelland and Stewart Limited, Toronto, 1924, p. 237.

[10] Dick Fairfax, *So Soon Forgotten*, Modern Press, Saskatoon, 1955, pp. 39, 40.

[11] Edith Rowles, "Bannock, Beans and Bacon: An Investigation of Pioneer Diet," *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. V, No. 1, Winter, 1952, p. 4.

[12] Jonesville Homemakers' Club, *op. cit.*, p. 16; see Grant MacEwan, "The Buffalo Bone Business," from *Between the Red and the Rockies*, reprinted in *Saskatchewan Harvest*, p. 99.

[13] Rowles, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[14] Mantario Homemakers' Club, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[15] Rowles, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[16] Mantario Homemakers' Club. *op. cit.*, p. 30.

In the community of Mantario, much of 1909 was spent in trying to locate water, and finally a spring was found. But many settlers had to haul water two miles from this spring. As settlers increased their herds of livestock, their need for an accessible, adequate supply of water became more acute.

The early families obtained their food from various sources. They hunted wild game—moose, bear, rabbit, prairie chicken, ducks, geese, deer, and other animals and fowl depending on their location and the time of settlement.[17] They also produced their own livestock, butchering, curing, and preserving the meat themselves. Some settlers caught fish in the spring, salting them for later use.[18] Potatoes and other vegetables were raised in gardens, and more than one pioneer woman had to learn to use a rifle to keep the gophers from destroying the garden.[19] Crops like peas, corn, and beans were dried for winter use. Cream was churned into butter and sold or exchanged for groceries in the local trading center.[20] Preserving milk or cream was a problem; it was often lowered into a well.

Only a few staples were bought on infrequent visits to the store:

> The woman had to learn to order carefully and then eke out the supplies. Too bad if one ran out of staple groceries and 40 miles to a store.[21]

Vinegar,[22] soap, starch, bread, canned fruits and vegetables were all made at home.[23] A Regina *Leader-Post* account of home-making in 1903 mentions the rows and rows of home-preserved fruit, vegetables and pickles, the extensive baking, the problems of cooking, washing, and ironing without gadgets, the difficulty of summer storage of foods, and the institution of the "summer kitchen" to which the cooking range would be moved for the season.[24]

The pioneer homemaker not only had to make many foods at home without the aid of labour-saving devices, but at harvest time she had to feed the threshing crew.

> It was no easy undertaking for the housewife to feed and bunk down a whole crew. At least, they were not, as a rule, too particular where they slept. Many times threshing operations were held up for as long as a week or more owing to unfavourable weather, and the unfortunate farmer's wife had the "gang" on hand waiting for the

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[17] Fairfax, *op. cit.*, p. 38; Jonesville Homemakers' Club, *op. cit.*, p. 15; *Fifty Years of Progress, op. cit.*, p. 15.

[18] Rowles, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[19] Allan R. Turner, "Pioneer Farming Experiences," *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, Spring, 1955, pp. 51, 52.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 50.

[21] Jonesville Homemakers' Club, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[22] Margaret Kidd, *This was Their Life, A Story of the Pioneers of Fairmede and Adjacent Districts*, 1955, p. 18.

[23] Rowles, *op. cit.*, pp. 8, 9, 12; Doris McCubbin, "The Incredible Pioneer Women of the West," *Chatelaine*, July, 1955, p. 10.

[24] May Neal, "Homemaking Was No Sinecure in Gadget-less 1903 Days," Regina *Leader-Post*, July 15, 1953.

> grain to dry sufficiently. It is most probable that their appetites were none the less healthy even though their bodies were more or less idle.[25]

Just as the provision of shelter, fuel, food, and clothing required great labour, so means of transportation were slow and difficult. The pioneers used horse-drawn cutters, Red River carts with oxen, buckboards, wagons, and democrats.[26] Many were the tales of intractable oxen,[27] of rough travel over no roads, of being lost in blizzards,[28] of trips of as much as 50 miles for mail and groceries. The primitive means of transportation intensified the isolation of rural communities, made medical care inaccessible, and increased the hardships of pioneer life.

Such, generally, was the level of living of the pioneer family. Life was hard, and the physical comforts achieved were the result of the ingenuity and hard work of the farm family. Some settlers, unable to adjust to the hardships of pioneer life and the crop hazards of the prairies, did not stay permanently, constructed only temporary buildings, and made little effort to plant shelter belts or beautify their homesteads.[29] Of those pioneers who prospered in the years of favourable rainfall after settlement, many improved their houses, bought a "Kitchen Queen" or "Home Comfort" range, and furnished a "parlor" with upholstered furniture and other luxury items of the day. But even for these families the conditions of living were primitive and hard for many years after settlement.

The Farm Family in World War I and the Postwar Years:

1915 - 1929

By the beginning of World War I, homesteading days were over for the early settlers. Farmers had broken their land and placed it under cultivation. The people began to experience the hard facts of producing and marketing grain. Although much of the 1915-1929 period was characterized by buoyant incomes, several years brought crop failures. Following World War I the drop in grain prices spelled economic depression for most Saskatchewan farmers. Much land was bought on credit, and poor crops prevented its being paid for. Table 1 reflects the generally buoyant but fluctuating farm incomes from 1920 to 1929.

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[25] *The History of Hawarden and Community, op. cit.*, p. 6.

[26] Kidd, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[27] See, for example, *Fifty Years of Progress, op. cit.*, pp. 20, 21.

[28] See Frederick Philip Grove, "Snow," reprinted in *Saskatchewan Harvest*, p. 25.

[29] *Fifty Years of Progress, op. cit.*, pp. 29, 30.

TABLE 1. ESTIMATED VALUE OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS ACTUALLY SOLD OFF FARMS, SASKATCHEWAN, 1920-1937

Year	Wheat	Coarse Grains and Flax Seed	Livestock	Dairy Products	Poultry and Poultry Products	Wool	Total
	Thousands of dollars						
1920	170,128	24,157	10,963	7,200	2,900	400	215,748
1921	121,013	15,400	4,404	5,100	3,500	140	149,557
1922	172,718	19,829	7,427	5,400	3,200	231	208,805
1923	156,966	20,817	7,570	5,800	3,200	158	194,511
1924	149,376	24,134	10,972	7,407	3,147	154	195,190
1925	285,271	22,723	13,832	8,377	3,543	148	333,894
1926	220,781	19,046	13,349	8,146	3,527	147	264,996
1927	221,537	25,679	14,493	7,257	3,282	157	272,405
1928	217,927	28,035	15,947	7,826	3,593	238	273,566
1929	134,932	15,124	16,978	8,846	3,654	141	179,675
1930	72,293	7,411	11,407	7,212	3,400	80	101,803
1931	44,407	5,219	7,245	6,374	2,900	61	66,206
1932	56,889	3,625	4,641	4,972	2,000	52	72,179
1933	52,301	4,950	5,789	5,518	2,100	171	70,829
1934	57,950	6,384	8,586	5,980	2,400	106	81,406
1935	68,400	4,561	11,813	6,350	3,000	134	94,258
1936	78,200	12,800	14,519	6,886	3,600	167	116,172
1937	17,850	1,865	20,955	7,350	3,200	175	51,395

SOURCE: G. E. Britnell, *The Wheat Economy*, University of Toronto Press, 1939, p. 71.

With higher incomes, houses were improved. Sod shacks became rare by 1915, and more spacious frame and brick buildings replaced them. At this time some large frame farm houses were built, modelled after the farm homes in Ontario. Britnell comments, however, that the change from sod shacks to frame houses "did not always represent an improvement, for although nearly every community possesses attractive farm houses, these are generally outnumbered by the small, unpainted, dreary, wooden shacks inadequate in size or warmth of construction properly to house the farm family."[illegible] Farm houses were small. Table 2 shows the number of rooms in rural or farm dwellings in Saskatchewan in 1921, 1931, 1941, and 1951. More than 68 per cent of rural households occupied four rooms or fewer in 1921.

The quality of farm houses, of course, varied with the stage of economic development of the area and the productive capacity of the soil.[illegible] Farm houses on the Regina plains were generally of superior construction to those on marginal wheat lands. And within areas, the quality of houses varied, depending on the income of the farmer and the priority attached to home improvement in the farm family's scale of values.

Furnishings were still simple and conveniences few. Britnell states:

> With the passing of the pioneer stage, most farm-houses continued to show that the family expected to spend little or no leisure time in indoor pursuits. The standardized living-room furniture, rugs, books, pictures, and other furnishings of a modest urban home, were rarely seen and in many cases there was not a single good chair or convenient reading lamp in the house. . . . During the decade prior to the depression a definite trend towards greater emphasis upon improvement of the farm home was evident in many established districts where crop yields had been satisfactory. Though the furniture generally remained cheap and inadequate, more was introduced; improved gasoline

TABLE 2. OCCUPIED RURAL DWELLINGS, CLASSIFIED BY NUMBER OF ROOMS PER DWELLING, SASKATCHEWAN, 1921-1951*

Number of Rooms	1921		1931		1941		1951	
	Number of Dwellings	Per Cent	Number of Dwellings	Per Cent	Number of Dwellings	Per Cent	Number of Dwellings	Per Cent
1	12,029	10	13,464	10	7,242	6	2,870	3
2	25,022	21	24,429	19	19,761	16	8,835	9
3	21,815	19	23,097	17	21,725	18	13,675	13
4	20,863	18	23,825	18	25,160	21	21,320	21
5	13,523	12	16,878	13	19,515	16	19,685	20
6 and over	22,673	19	29,690	22	29,335	24	33,585	34
Not given	711	0.6	793	0.6	—	—	—	—
Total	116,636	100	132,176	100	122,738	100	99,970	100

SOURCE: *Census of Canada*, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.
* Figures for 1941 and 1951 do not include rural non-farm.

[illegible] G. E. Britnell, *The Wheat Economy*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1939, p. 173.

[illegible] *Ibid.*, p. 174.

> and kerosene lamps and occasionally small electric lighting plants began to replace the small coal oil lamps; window curtains and rugs became more common; a portion of the garden space was devoted to flowers and shrubs, and house plants began to appear at the windows. But it would be easy to exaggerate the extent of the advance.[32]

Home conveniences were generally limited to "some sort of a washing machine, a few of which are operated by a small gasoline engine, the majority by hand."[33] Although eagerly sought, these early washing machines "were not altogether a blessing. They were made with cypress wood held together by iron bands, and worked by hand. When not in use they would often dry out and when washday came they would leak like a sieve."[34] Running water was seldom found in farm homes, but periodicals of the day recommended sanitation measures that could be undertaken easily.[35] Estimating that the farm woman lifted a ton of water in the course of a day's work, columnists described simple methods of disposal of waste water that would eliminate the emptying of pails of water in the back yard. An adjustment to the lack of bathroom facilities was suggested by one farm woman, who set up a children's bathtub near the kitchen stove, covered with a lid that could be used as a work table except on Saturday nights.[36]

The diet of farm families in these years was more varied than in the years of settlement. As communities became established, gardens were improved and some berries and fruit, mainly rhubarb, were planted. Britnell states, however, that "the chief defect in the diet of the rural population was the preponderance of starches and meats and the inadequate supplies of leafy vegetables and fresh fruits."[37] The practice of the "beef ring" was adopted, whereby a group of families shared the beef from one animal as an adjustment to the lack of refrigeration. The farm produced 40-50 per cent of all food requirements in the years before the depression. As long as incomes were adequate, canned tomatoes, canned corn, and dried fruits could be purchased to supplement the food grown on the farm.

The preparation of food still involved much work for the homemaker—extensive baking and preserving[38] as well as cooking. But the beginnings of mechanization of agriculture lightened the load of the farm homemaker on some farms:

> With the passing of the horse and the substitution of the combine a great burden of labour was lifted from the shoulders of the homemaker, the farm wife, who no longer had the stooking help and the threshing crews to cook for, including breakfast to prepare for a gang of hungry men at five o'clock in the morning, a lunch to take out into the field around 3.30, and dishes to wash after the evening meal, which sometimes took until eleven o'clock at night.[39]

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[32] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 177.

[34] Jonesville Homemakers' Club, *op. cit.*, pp. 16, 17.

[35] *The Grain Growers' Guide*, August 15, 1926, p. 20.

[36] *The Grain Growers' Guide*, October 15, 1926, p. 25.

[37] Britnell, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

[38] See *The Grain Growers' Guide*, July 15, 1926, p. 19 for recommendations for filling the fruit cupboard in a land where fruit and cash were scarce.

[39] Mantario Homemakers' Club, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

Nevertheless, the lack of domestic help made the homemaker's task hard, particularly in the busy seasons.[40]

In these years, great advances were made in transportation and communication. The automobile became more common in the 1920's and extended the range of the farm family's contacts and social life. Radios brought the outside world to the farm home, and in the 1920's a favourite pastime was "tuning in on many stations and boasting about it."[41] By 1921 rural telephone lines "had pretty well covered the prairie region"[42] and did much to relieve the isolation of rural life.

When the depression and drought hit Saskatchewan in the succeeding decade, two newspapermen looked back on the pre-depression years in the southwestern part of the province and wrote:

> To get the general picture it is necessary to take a long view of the 25 years in which people have been farming in this part of Saskatchewan. They grew big crops. There were failures, of course, and some lean years, but on the whole there were 20 busy, hustling, throbbing, hopeful years in which the country was going full steam ahead. Everyone was busy. People had money. People spent money. They swore they were living in a great country.[43]

The Farm Family in the Depression: 1930 - 1938

The suffering caused farm families by the depression and drought of the 1930's is still fresh in the memories of Saskatchewan people 15 years after the end of that decade. In the words of Lipset,

> From 1930, the farmers of Saskatchewan were destitute. They were affected not only by the decline in the price of wheat, which at one point reached a low of 19 cents a bushel, but by the longest and severest drought in the history of western settlement. . . . It is impossible to exaggerate the extent to which the social, economic, and political life of the province was affected by the depression in the 'thirties.'[44]

Cash farm income declined drastically. Table 1 showed the estimated value of agricultural products sold off Saskatchewan farms in the years 1930 to 1937. Britnell points out that if the 18 years from 1920 to 1937 are divided into two equal periods, $243 million is the average annual return for the first nine years and less than $93 million for the second nine years.[45] The decline in purchasing power represented by these figures caused severely lowered living levels and, in many cases, real privation. The effect of the decline in income was aggravated by the high debt load incurred in the optimistic 1920's. The United Farmers of Canada reported that one of its members from the Prince Albert district stated that

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[40] Britnell, *op. cit.*, p. 177, fn. 62; see also *The Grain Growers' Guide*, December 15, 1926, p. 17 for proposal by a homemaker of a co-operative laundry and canning facilities to compensate for the lack of domestic help on the farm.

[41] Montagu Clements, "'Listening in' on the Prairies," *Saskatchewan History*, Vol. IX, No. 1, Winter, 1956.

[42] Britnell, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

[43] D. B. MacRae and R. M. Scott, *In the South Country*, a reprint of a series of articles which appeared in the Winnipeg Free Press, Regina Leader-Post and Saskatoon Star-Phoenix in September, 1934, as the result of a tour of the drought-stricken districts of Saskatchewan and Manitoba, The Saskatoon Star-Phoenix Ltd., Saskatoon, 1934, p. 10.

[44] S. M. Lipsett, *Agrarian Socialism*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Calif., 1950, p. 90.

[45] Britnell, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

> . . . he had threshed 7,000 bushels of oats, which he sold at 9c per bushel. This was his total crop and after paying his thresher's bill and for harvesting operations, he had $175.00 left wherewith to pay taxes on his half-section of land, gas accounts, store bills, hired help, etc., and to provide for his family. We have had a number of reports to the effect that the grain did not return sufficient wherewith to pay even the thresher's bill.[46]

Retail trade declined by more than 45 per cent in the province as a whole in the years from 1930 to 1933.[47] The lack of income thus affected every aspect of the level of living of farm families.

Farm houses deteriorated. Reports prepared for the Red Cross campaign in 1936 described housing in the area west of Woodrow:

> The farm houses and buildings were gaunt and spectral, and in most cases, the paint of other years had been weathered into pallid streaks, with an effect that was dingy and disreputable.[48]

Another Red Cross report stated:

> Many of the houses, now almost entirely without paint, have been banked with earth and even manure, to prevent the entrance of the icy gale which searches out each chink and crevice. When a window pane is broken and there is no money for replacements, many of these houses show the apertures stuffed with old rags and boarded with paste board, giving them an incredibly disreputable appearance.[49]

Britnell stated that in all communities the depression meant the cessation of construction and the neglect of painting and repairs.[50] A survey of 832 farm houses in seven rural municipalities revealed 46 per cent of the houses in poor condition, 41 per cent in fair condition, and only 13 per cent in good condition. Sixty per cent of the barns were reported poor, 30 per cent fair, and only 10 per cent good.[51] Farm houses and buildings thus reflected the lack of income for maintenance and improvement.

Little improvement had occurred in the size of farm houses by 1931. Table 2 showed that 64 per cent of farm homes still had four rooms or fewer in 1931.

Not only were no new household conveniences added in the decade of the 1930's but worn out household furnishings and utensils could not be replaced. The reports prepared for the Red Cross campaign in 1936 described serious needs. In a house with seven children under 14 years of age,

> . . . there was not sufficient bedding to keep them warm; hardly any cooking utensils; the stove grates were so burned out, that there was danger in the building of fire.

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[46] "The Present Economic Situation in Western Canada as Viewed by the United Farmers of Canada," Saskatchewan Archives, 1930, p. 1.

[47] Britnell, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

[48] Reports prepared for the 1936 Red Cross Campaign, Saskatchewan Archives.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] Britnell, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

[51] *Physical and Economic Factors related to Land Use Classification in Southwest Central Saskatchewan*, Ottawa, 1938, cited in Britnell, *op. cit.*, p. 175, fn. 55.

With respect to another family, the report said:

> Their kitchen utensils were almost all gone, and the pail with which they carried water for household uses leaked like a sieve. Several panes were broken in the window, and the apertures were stuffed with the melancholy Russian thistle. Bed clothes had become outworn, and the children were protected from the cold by garments mostly fashioned from discarded flour bags.

Household supplies were exhausted in the depression years, and there was no money with which to replace them.

The proportion of farms in Canada and in each province in 1931 with conveniences—gas or electric light, water piped in kitchen, and water piped in bathroom—is shown in Table 3. Even at the beginning of the depression, Saskatchewan had the smallest proportion of farms with these facilities of any of the provinces.

The securing of fuel was a serious problem in the depression years, and a large part of relief expenditures was made for fuel. Britnell reported:

> The winter fuel problem, always acute on the prairie plains, was intensified with the decline in cash income, and unrepaired houses have added greatly to the discomfort of farm families and to the relief fuel bills of governments.[52]

The Red Cross reports described inadequately clothed men walking with horses and wagons pulling light loads of wood. But the poorly fed horses could not pull more.

TABLE 3. PROPORTION OF FARMS WITH SELECTED LIVING CONVENIENCES IN CANADA AND EACH OF THE PROVINCES, 1931

Province	Gas or Electric Light	Water Piped in Kitchen	Water Piped in Bathroom
	Percent		
Prince Edward Island	4.0	5.6	3.8
Nova Scotia	9.5	10.3	4.3
New Brunswick	7.4	11.2	3.9
Quebec	14.0	32.0	8.2
Ontario	16.8	10.5	6.3
Manitoba	3.7	1.9	1.6
Saskatchewan	2.9	1.4	1.2
Alberta	2.9	2.1	1.5
British Columbia	24.6	31.2	20.0
Canada	10.1	11.7	4.9

SOURCE: *Census of Canada*, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

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[52] Britnell, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

Clothing wore out and could not be replaced. The two reporters who travelled through the country in 1934 reported cases "where one girl wore 'the' dress to school one day while a sister stayed at home. Next day they alternated, one staying at home and one going to school."[53]

> Clothing has been reduced to a minimum and bed clothes are reported as a great necessity, being but a remnant of what they once were and worn thin with age. Bare necessities have been the rule during the past few years. Farm homes such as these have never been run on a lavish scale. The people live simply and modestly, so reduction from this scale of living means more to the farmer and his wife and family than would at first appear.[54]

Expenditures on food had to be curtailed. Because of protracted drought, gardens dried up. One man told of children who had not tasted any vegetable other than potatoes for over two years.[55] Livestock could not be fed. One farm woman who moved to the northern part of the province reported:

> We certainly are not living any too well these times. Our chickens and cows no longer feed us because we can't feed them. . . . The cows won't give milk these cold, long winters fed only on wild hay.[56]

Facilities for rural transportation and communication also suffered because of the farmers' lack of income. Rural telephones declined from 71,616 in 1930 to 39,488 by 1934.[57] The significance of this decline was well described by Mrs. Telford of Pelly:

> Consider a farmer's financial strains when for $10.50 a year he will do without a telephone. Perhaps he is 10 or 15 miles from town, perhaps a mile from his nearest neighbour, yet for the sake of that paltry sum, he will face the hazards, the isolation, the social inconvenience of doing without his telephone. I think this more than anything else shows our western financial position.[58]

Automobiles had become quite common on Saskatchewan farms during the 1920's, but with the depression car registrations fell, and by 1933 nearly half the farm automobiles of the prairie region had been taken off the roads.[59] Car registrations in Saskatchewan declined from 108,630 in 1929 to 69,043 in 1933.[60] As the depression wore on, Bennett buggies replaced automobiles. The Bennett buggy was an automobile from which the motor had been removed and which was pulled by horses.

Many farm homes could not even afford to operate their radios. Mrs. Tennis in recording her recollections of the depression years near Meadow Lake wrote of the year 1931:

> Because of the low prices of grain, people cannot afford to run their radios, so we have no batteries to charge. . . . Only six families are having us charge their batteries this year.[61]

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[53] MacRae and Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[56] Mary K. Tennis, unpublished manuscript, Saskatchewan Archives, p. 71.

[57] Lipset, *op. cit.*, p. 97 and *Annual Reports*, Department of Telephones.

[58] Gertrude S. Telford, "Livingstone—A Social Survey," unpublished thesis, McMaster University, 1931, p. 34, quoted in Britnell, *op. cit.*, pp. 179, 180.

[59] Britnell, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

[60] Lipset, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[61] Tennis, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

A systematic investigation of farm housing conditions and home conveniences was made in 1929-31 for the "Canadian Frontiers of Settlement" studies. Saskatchewan data were gathered for 136 homes in the Davidson district northwest of Regina, 204 homes in the Kindersley district near the Alberta boundary line (both of which samples represented stable settlements), and 174 homes in the Turtleford district northwest of North Battleford (as an example of a new pioneer area). There were also 287 homes in the vicinity of Medicine Hat, Alberta (as a chronic fringe area), a sample which included some homes near Richmound and Maple Creek in Saskatchewan.

This study showed how few farm homes possessed conveniences such as electricity, running water, sewage disposal, and central heating. Among the various districts the oldest settlement, Davidson, usually had the top record and the pioneer area, Turtleford, usually had the lowest percentage of homes with a specified convenience. Telephones were found in many homes, ranging from 78 per cent of the Davidson to 44 per cent of the Turtleford farms. The proportion of families having automobiles was high, from Kindersley district's 79 per cent down to Turtleford's 57 per cent. Radios were found in 52 per cent of the Kindersley homes. Most of the other conveniences, however, even including possession of a power washing machine, definitely belonged to the luxury class of farm home items of the day.[62]

The Farm Family in the Period of Mechanization and Urbanization: 1939 - 1955

World War II cut off many normal supplies of food, and therefore wheat from the Canadian prairies was urgently needed. Favourable crop conditions, rising grain prices, and larger sized farms combined to produce a generally increased income for farmers, although many farmers continued to suffer from inadequate incomes. From 1945, payments under the Family Allowance Act supplemented incomes of farm families. The postwar years were marked by the rapid mechanization of agriculture,[63] the depopulation of rural areas, and the movement of farm families to urban centers.[64] Improved transportation for those families that remained on the farms meant greater interchange between rural and urban peoples and therefore a desire for a more satisfying standard of living on the farm.

In 1942-43 a study of farm families in the prairie provinces revealed significant facts about the material level of living of farm families.[65] Of the 200 families interviewed in the northern fringe area, over half lived in crowded log buildings with an average of less than one room per person. Household conveniences such as electricity, central heating, or running water were almost non-existent. Only 14 per cent had a power washing machine. Only 8 out of the 200 had telephones. Something over a third of the families owned automobiles. For these items there seemed little, if any, change since the 1929-31 survey of the similar Turtleford area mentioned above. But four-fifths of the group now had radios. On a scale to measure level of living developed for western Canada by Edwards, the average score of these families was 7.1 out of a possible 27.[66]

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[62] C. A. Dawson and Eva R. Younge, *Pioneering in the Prairie Provinces: The Social Side of the Settlement Process*, Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, Vol. VIII, Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, Toronto, 1940, pp. 153-158.

[63] See the Commission's report on Mechanization and Farm Costs.

[64] See the Commission's report on Movement of Farm People.

Quite in contrast were the 200 families of the Langham-Asquith-Delisle-Saskatoon area, despite the still fresh effects of the drought and depression. Nearly all their homes were of frame construction. Seventy-one per cent had telephones, half of the homes had power washing machines, and about one-fourth had central heating. Yet there were only 8 per cent with electricity and 4 per cent with running water. Almost two-thirds of the families owned automobiles, and nearly 90 per cent had radios. The average level of living score for the group—14.8—was over twice the northern average, but still far from the potential high of 27.

In 1947, another study was undertaken to determine the changes that had occurred in the level of living in the same areas.[67] An average rise in the material level of living of almost 23 per cent was reported for the 416 families that could be re-interviewed. But the greatest proportionate rise was in northern Saskatchewan, where the level of living had risen 58 per cent as measured by Edwards' scale. By 1947, farms in this region were less representative of a pioneer stage of development than they had been in 1942. The west central Saskatchewan farmers had increased their level of living by 18 per cent, however, increasing their average score from 14.8 to 17.5. Thus, although closing the gap somewhat, the northern families with their average score of 11.2 still lagged considerably behind the other region in 1947.[68]

Some specific time comparisons for the two regions may be of interest. The northern areas showed the most change in house exteriors with a decline from 56 to 45 per cent in log structures and a corresponding increase in painted frame houses. Increases in proportions of northern homes with specified conveniences were recorded during the five-year period. They included: radios, from 80 to 96 per cent; automobiles, 36 to 42 per cent; power washers, 14 to 20 per cent; electricity, 1 to 8 per cent; central heating, 2 to 6 per cent; telephones, 4 to 5 per cent. The proportion of homes with running water in the sample declined from 3 to 1 per cent.

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[65] Florence M. Edwards, *Farm Family Living in the Prairie Provinces,* Publication 787, Tech. Bull. 57, Economics Division, Canada Department of Agriculture, 1947. Samples of housewives were interviewed in three differing areas—west central Saskatchewan, northern Saskatchewan, and central Alberta. The Alberta families in the Red Deer-Wetaskiwin area enjoyed better housing and more home conveniences. They lived in a stable and long-settled mixed farming area, while farm people in the Loon Lake-Goodsoil-Meadow Lake vicinity and the Bjorkdale-Carragana, Preeceville-Lintlaw, and Aylsham-Carrot River areas of northern Saskatchewan were still in a pioneer phase of development. The farms visited in the west Saskatchewan area near Saskatoon supported levels of living between those of the two other groups studied.

[66] The level of living scores are found in a later publication, M. A. MacNaughton and M. E. Andal, *Changes in Farm Family Living in Three Areas of the Prairie Provinces, from 1942-43 to 1947*, Publication 815, Tech. Bull. 69, Economics Division, Canada Department of Agriculture, 1949, p. 47.

[67] *Ibid.*

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 47.

The percentage changes for the same items in the west central homes were as follows: radios, from 87 to 94 per cent; automobiles, 63 to 69 per cent; power washers, 51 to 62 per cent; electricity, 8 to 16 per cent; central heating, 26 to 28 per cent; telephones, 71 to 83 per cent; running water, 4 to 8 per cent.[69]

This information, of course, only indicates the trend and does not tell the full story. While none of the absolute increases in the five-year period may seem particularly impressive, except perhaps for radios in the north and telephones and power washers in the west central area, in relative terms some of the other items like electricity showed a considerable rise over 1942 — although the total number of farms electrified still remained small. These few selected items also do not reveal the marked improvement in home interiors nor the increase in expenditures associated with some items. For example, in the west central area, although there was not much change in the proportion of families owning automobiles, there was a 70 per cent increase in their expenditures connected with the servicing and use of their vehicles.[70] In general, it was found that families were making larger outlays for their living expenses, even after allowance for price increases. More important, a larger proportion of the family income was being spent for education, recreation, gifts, and donations to church and charity. The development of community facilities, bringing more services closer to the farm, also contributed toward raising the level of living for the average family.

Encouraging as were these trends, they appeared in a different light when the 1947 data were compared with statistics gathered in the nearest city homes just the preceding year by the Census of the Prairie Provinces. While a larger proportion of west central farms had radios, telephones, and automobiles than did Saskatoon homes, there were great gaps for all other household conveniences — 8 per cent of the farms had running water, for example, compared with 77 per cent of the city homes, and 16 per cent had electricity compared with 98 per cent of the city homes. Comparisons of the northern farms with homes in the nearby city of Prince Albert also revealed great contrasts. Most Saskatchewan farm people, according to these studies, despite marked improvement in the decade of the 1940's, still had a long way to go before they could boast a material level of living equal to that enjoyed by urban people.[71]

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[69] *Ibid.*, p. 73.

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 33.

[71] See also M. A. MacNaughton, J. M. Mann, and M. B. Blackwood, *Farm Family Living in Southeastern Saskatchewan 1947-48*, Economics Division, Canada Department of Agriculture, for a study of the level of living of farm families in southeastern Saskatchewan. The material level of living of farm families in Saskatchewan today is discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

Summary

The Pioneer Family: 1880 - 1914

The material level of living of pioneer families depended in large measure on the ingenuity and hard work of the families. Small sod houses of one or two rooms on the prairies and small log cabins in the north were the usual type of houses. Conveniences were few, and the provision of fuel arduous. An adequate accessible water supply was a problem. Food was grown or raised at home, game was hunted, and fish caught, and the preparation of food required great work on the part of the homemaker. For many years after settlement, life was primitive and hard for the pioneers.

The Farm Family in World War I and the Postwar Years: 1915-1929

During World War I and the postwar years, the settlers began to experience the hard facts of producing and marketing grain. From 1915 to 1929 farm families knew buoyant incomes as well as crop failures and low grain prices. Houses were improved, and frame or brick houses generally replaced sod huts, but more than 68 per cent of rural households in 1921 occupied four rooms or fewer. Furnishings were simple and conveniences generally limited to a washing machine. Diet was more varied but mainly starches and meat and limited in leafy vegetables and fresh fruits. The introduction of the automobile, radio, and telephone did much to relieve the isolation of rural life.

The Farm Family in the Depression: 1930 - 1938

The depression and drought of the 1930's caused severe suffering, and the lack of income affected every aspect of the material level of living of farm families. Farm houses and barns deteriorated. Not only were no new household conveniences added in this period, but worn out household furnishings and utensils could not be replaced. Many farm families were reduced to a subsistence level of living. Expenditures on food, clothing, and fuel had to be curtailed. The number of rural telephones and automobiles declined drastically, and some families could not even afford to run their radios.

The Farm Family in the Period of Mechanization and Urbanization: 1939-1955

Rapid mechanization of agriculture and urbanization of the rural population in the period from the onset of World War II to the present created changes in the level of living of farm families. With generally increased incomes — although many farmers continued to suffer from inadequate incomes — conditions of living improved. Studies of two groups of Saskatchewan farm families in 1942-43 and again in 1947 revealed improvement in the number of families having radios, automobiles, washing machines, electricity, central heating, telephones, and running water, but these families had by no means achieved a level of living equal to that of families in nearby cities.

CHAPTER IV

Amenities of Family Living Today

Not all the rural homes in Saskatchewan today are gleaming tributes to a mechanized world, at least to the degree that an occasional woman's magazine writer would have one believe.[1] Nor are all the homes the crude, gadgetless, and unpainted shacks that represent the extreme of rural poverty. While the true picture for the province includes both types, much more impressive is the vast majority of rural homes that range somewhere between the two extremes.

Material items of level of living lend themselves, in a sense, to more objective research than the "nonmaterial" aspects of family organization discussed in the next chapter. Telephones, refrigerators, radios, and washing machines can be counted. The extent of electrification or sanitation service can be precisely measured. Still, this does not mean that the problem of scientifically evaluating the amenities found in Saskatchewan's rural homes today is entirely simple — even if one bypasses the social attitudes of the people themselves about what constitutes an "adequate" level of living.

A home economist has outlined three possible methods of objective measurement of progress in material level of living.[2] Like all measurement, they involve comparison with some criterion. These three possibilities are:

1) *Comparisons with a standard based on the findings of science.* Perhaps the best illustration of this method would be an evaluation of the quality of diets, since nutritional research has established within fairly definite limits the human requirements for calories, protein, and certain vitamins and minerals. Saskatchewan diets, however, are not investigated in this study, and there are few other items for which comparably scientific standards exist.

2) *Comparisons over time.* This method is more practical for the present study. In 1941 the first separate housing census was made in Canada. Many of the same questions were repeated in 1951. Thus it is possible to compare, for example, the percentage of farm homes in the province which had electricity in 1941 with the 1951 percentage. The gain can be used as a measure of change in the "adequacy" of one of the basic items in level of living. The two investigations undertaken by the Canada Department of Agriculture during the 1940's, which are discussed in the preceding chapter, used this method.[3]

3) *Comparisons among contemporary groups.* The present report

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[1] Gwendoline P. Clarke and A. B. Crane, "You'd Never Know the Old Place Now," *Canadian Home Journal,* Vol. 50, No. 3, July, 1953, pp. 14-16.

[2] Gertrude S. Weiss, "Measuring Progress in How Well Families Live," *Journal of Home Economics,* Vol. 45, No. 2, February, 1953, pp. 85-88.

[3] See Edwards, *op. cit.,* and McNaughton and Andal, *op. cit.*

relies considerably on the method of comparisons among contemporary groups. For the amenities tabulated by the Dominion Census, rural homes can be contrasted with urban homes, or rural homes in different parts of the province can be compared. The rural group can be further divided into farm and non-farm categories. In turn, the Saskatchewan groups can be compared with those in other prairie provinces or in Canada as a whole. Any "lag" or superiority shown by rural homes in Saskatchewan can be taken as a measure of their adequacy.

The question is naturally raised, "How much can these household items tell you about how people live?" These amenities of living are valuable not only for themselves but also as reflections of larger aspects of family living. For example, the automobile for most farm families represents access to the larger world, the consumption of relatively more urban items and services than are utilized by farm families without automobiles — as well as contact with new ideas through observation, commercial recreation, and other means. The automobile also has a status value as well as a use value. Thus, the single statistic, "percentage of homes owning passenger automobiles," tells us much about a group's level of living beyond the mere possession of the item itself.

To be sure, the scope of the data upon amenities given here is somewhat arbitrary. It might have been desirable to know about many other kinds of conveniences besides those described here. As a practical matter, however, this report was limited to those items which it was feasible to investigate or which had been tabulated by the Census.

The Commission's analysis of material levels of living of farm families is based on percentage comparisons derived from published and unpublished statistics from the Census Division of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. These figures were complied through a canvas of housing characteristics in a 10 per cent sample in 1941 and a 20 per cent sample in 1951.[4]

Comparisons With Other Provinces

It has been stated that if 1,000 typical homes from the small towns and farms of Saskatchewan were to be assembled and arranged on a city street the result would be a slum area of major proportions that would rival the slums of the big cities of Canada. As of December 31, 1953, there was in Saskatchewan a minimum rural housing shortage of more than 16,800 dwellings, with a supplementary need to alleviate crowding and obsolete accommodation for an additional 62,485 dwellings.[5] The provision of 16,800 houses would provide homes for about 61,500 rural residents, while additional homes to fill the supplementary need could affect another 217,000.

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[4] The Census figures are actually estimates based upon unbiased sample data and hence are subject to "sample error" as are the results of any survey based upon systematic random sampling. Because of the large sizes of the samples used, this error in most cases is very small, but it should be made clear, nevertheless, that much of the housing data in the Census is not based on a complete count. Percentages given here were computed on the basis of these Census estimates; hence, small percentage differences between groups being compared probably should not be considered significant because of the effect of sampling variability upon the respective estimates. In general, the smaller the estimate, the larger is the relative sampling error. For that reason no work was done with Census estimates smaller than 100 in size.

There are, of course, other possible sources of error, but their effect is slight. These include the inability of the Census enumerators to follow sampling instructions exactly and the necessity of computing percentages from the estimates rather than the original sample values.

Saskatchewan farm homes are here compared with farm homes in Canada as a whole and in other provinces with respect to crowding, need for major repair, and possession of household conveniences.

A crowded household for census purposes is defined as one in which the number of persons exceeds the number of rooms contained in the dwelling. In 1951, 25 per cent of Saskatchewan rural households were crowded according to this definition. Table 4 shows the incidence of crowding of rural homes in Canada and selected provinces. Saskatchewan followed Alberta and Manitoba in high proportion of crowded rural homes.

A dwelling is classed in need of major repair for census purposes if it possesses any one of the following defects: (1) sagging or rotting foundations, indicated by cracked or leaning walls, (2) faulty roof or chimney, (3) unsafe outside steps or stairways, (4) interior badly in need of repair. Table 5 shows the percentage of rural homes requiring major repairs in Canada and selected provinces in 1951. Next to Alberta, Saskatchewan had the largest proportion of rural homes requiring major repair (25 per cent) among the provinces listed.

TABLE 4. INCIDENCE OF CROWDING IN RURAL HOMES, CANADA AND SELECTED PROVINCES, 1951

Area	Crowded Rural Homes as Percentage of Total Rural Homes
	Per cent
Canada	23
Saskatchewan	25
Alberta	28
Manitoba	27
British Columbia	22
Ontario	14

SOURCE: *Census of Canada*, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

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[5] Estimates based on Census of Canada, 1951, with later adjustments for new residential construction (D.B.S.) and estimates of net family formation.

TABLE 5. RURAL HOMES REQUIRING MAJOR REPAIRS, CANADA AND SELECTED PROVINCES, 1951

Area	Rural Homes Requiring Major Repairs as Percentage of Total Rural Homes
	Per cent
Canada	20
Saskatchewan	25
Alberta	28
Manitoba	21
British Columbia	17
Ontario	15

SOURCE: *Census of Canada*, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

With respect to conveniences within rural homes, Saskatchewan is in a similar position. Table 6 shows that in 1951 the province had a better record than that in farm homes in Canada as a whole or in the prairie provinces in the proportion of homes possessing a telephone even though half of the farms were still without this service. It also appears that Saskatchewan farm families were about 5 per cent above the national average in possession of a passenger automobile. In furnaces and radios, the Saskatchewan record was about the same as national and prairie percentages.

TABLE 6. PROPORTION OF OCCUPIED FARM DWELLINGS WITH SPECIFIED LIVING CONVENIENCES, CANADA, ALL PRAIRIE PROVINCES, AND SASKATCHEWAN, 1951

Convenience*	Canada	Prairie Provinces	Saskat-chewan
	Per cent		
Electricity	56	30	21
Piped-in water supply	33	9	6
Furnace	23	24	23
Passenger automobile	52	56	57
Radio	89	91	92
Telephone	44	40	50
Electric or gas range	13	7	5
Mechanical refrigerator	22	13	7
Power washing machine	66	62	60
Flush toilet	20	5	2
Total Number of Dwellings	629,785	236,010	99,970

Source: Census of Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.
* See Appendix II for definitions of these conveniences.

Any comparisons between Saskatchewan and other provinces do not necessarily imply, of course, that farms in the other provinces have reached an acceptable standard. It is of interest to note the highest province in percentage of occupied farms possessing the conveniences shown in Table 6:

Electricity	Ontario	76%
Piped-in water supply	Quebec	63%
Furnace	Manitoba	31%
Passenger automobile	Ontario	72%
Radio	Saskatchewan	92%
Telephone	Ontario	68%
Electric or gas range	Ontario	35%
Mechanical refrigerator	Ontario	43%
Power washing machine	Ontario	74%
Flush toilet	Quebec	40%

Saskatchewan was the lowest of the provinces (not considering Newfoundland) for four of the items — electricity, piped-in water supply, mechanical refrigerators, and flush toilets.

Perhaps Saskatchewan's most noticeable deficiency in comparison to farm homes elsewhere, even in the other prairie provinces, was in connection with electricity and the distribution of conveniences made possible by electricity, such as refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, and so forth. Only 21 per cent of Saskatchewan's farms were electrified in 1951 compared with 56 per cent nationally. But rapid development of rural electrification since that time has changed the situation significantly. By the end of 1956, well over one-third of Saskatchewan farms will be electrified, and it is the intention of the Saskatchewan Power Corporation to continue its program at the rate of 6,000 to 7,000 new connections yearly. As farms are electrified the whole status of amenities changes. Water systems, lighting and heating appliances, washing appliances and refrigeration equipment are possible — the rate of acquisition depending upon the income situation. In the matter of piped-in water supply and the conveniences, such as flush toilets, that it makes possible, Saskatchewan and the prairie provinces in general were strikingly behind Canadian percentages in 1951. The lack of an accessible water supply in many areas of the province makes piped-in water expensive and often dependent on rainfall. The farm homes of the prairies also appeared to be lagging, but to a lesser degree, in power washers and electric and gas ranges.[5]

Changes from 1941 to 1951 were significant. Table 7 shows the absolute or actual gain in the percentage of farms that possessed each living convenience. Thus, radios gained most among Saskatchewan farms, but in the prairie provinces as a whole and in all Canada, electricity was the item that spread most.

Of more interest is the relative gain, which as computed here is the actual gain measured as a percentage of the occupied dwellings that did not have the convenience in 1941. Relative gain is shown in this way because progress slows down the closer the 100 per cent mark is approached. If 95 per cent of the farm dwellings have not been equipped with a bathtub or shower, it should be easier to improve Saskatchewan's showing on this particular convenience than if 60 per cent of the dwellings already had the item (as in the case of power washing machines) and the aim were to introduce washing machines in the last 40 per cent. Hence, a smaller actual gain in homes with the more common item may represent a greater achievement than a larger actual gain in homes with the scarce item, in the sense that the more common item has been relatively more successful in spreading to the non-owners. Relative gain as computed here reflects that fact. An example for Saskatchewan in 1951 was the gain in homes with automobiles over the ten-year period as compared to homes with electricity. As shown by Table 7, the actual gain in homes with automobiles was smaller than for electricity, but the relative gain was larger.

Table 7 shows that radios rank first everywhere in relative gain. In Saskatchewan, telephones rank second in relative gain, automobiles third, and electricity fourth. Anything in the line of modern plumbing is low in both actual and relative gain in Saskatchewan as compared to Canada as a whole. The proportion of farm homes with furnaces also showed more relative gain in Canada as a whole from 1941 to 1951 than in Saskatchewan or the prairie provinces generally. The percentage of farm homes with electric or gas ranges showed low gains everywhere.

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[5] It should be noted that none of these percentages refers to numbers of articles but number of homes possessing at least one of an article. One household might possess two or more automobiles, radios, and so forth.

TABLE 7. INCREASE IN PROPORTION OF OCCUPIED FARM DWELLINGS WITH SPECIFIED LIVING CONVENIENCES, CANADA, ALL PRAIRIE PROVINCES, AND SASKATCHEWAN, 1941-1951*

	Actual Increase			Relative Increase†		
Convenience	Canada	Prairie Provinces	Saskatchewan	Canada	Prairie Provinces	Saskatchewan
	Per cent					
Electricity	36	24	16	45	26	17
Piped-in water supply	21	7	5	24	7	5
Furnace	10	11	11	26	13	13
Passenger automobile	8	9	11	14	17	20
Radio	28	20	20	72	69	71
Telephone	15	14	17	21	19	25
Electric or gas range	6	5	3	6	5	3
Mechanical refrigerator	18	12	7	19	12	7
Flush toilet	12	3	2	13	3	2

SOURCE: *Census of Canada*, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

* "Farm dwellings" in 1951 included a few dwellings that were classified "non-farm" in 1941 — mostly homes of fishermen, trappers, etc.

† The relative increase is the actual increase measured as a percentage of the occupied dwellings that did not have the specified convenience in 1941, e.g., there was for Canada, from 1941 to 1951, an actual gain of 36 per cent in farm dwellings with electricity. Back in 1941, 80 per cent of the farms were without electricity; hence, the relative increase was 36/80 or 45 per cent.

In summary, rural homes in Saskatchewan ranked poorly by comparison with rural homes in Canada as a whole and in various provinces. Although Saskatchewan did not have the highest percentage of rural homes that were crowded and in need of major repair, it had the highest percentage of occupied farms without electricity, piped-in water supply, and mechanical refrigerators. These deficiencies are being affected profoundly by recent advances in rural electrification.

Variation in Farm Homes Within the Province

Substantial differences in material levels of living exist among different rural areas within Saskatchewan. This fact is evident when percentage comparisons are made among the 18 census divisions in the province. Boundaries of census divisions (Figure 1) are rather arbitrarily determined as a matter of administrative convenience for Census record keeping and reporting. Since they are not natural socio-economic areas, considerable variation within the divisions may be masked. Their use is of value, however, in breaking down, to some extent at least, the data reported on a province-wide basis.

A simple index of material possessions has been worked out in order to reflect variation in farm levels of living within the province. This index was constructed by using three groups of data — the percentages of farm dwellings possessing electricity, piped-in water, and automobiles. For purposes of index computation, all three items were considered of equal importance. Why choose these items rather than others? One authority in discussing the matter suggests that the items chosen should meet three requirements: (1) the item should itself indicate possession or consumption of goods or services, and its status value as well as use value should be taken into consideration, (2) the item should represent a larger class of associated items indicating consumption of goods and services, and (3) the item should indicate possession or consumption of goods and services that are sought by most people.[7]

In Saskatchewan electricity, automobiles, and piped-in water are the facilities that best meet all these requirements — better than central heating, telephones, or radios, for example. Why not all six items and more? It has been demonstrated that an index like this one derived from a few items has a very high correlation with an index derived from a considerably larger number of items because of the high intercorrelation among the items.[8]

Plotting the index scores on the map of the census divisions (Figure 1) shows the general picture for the province. The south and central divisions in general are high. The northern divisions are low. Nearness to a large urban center seems to be a factor, also, in producing a relatively high score.

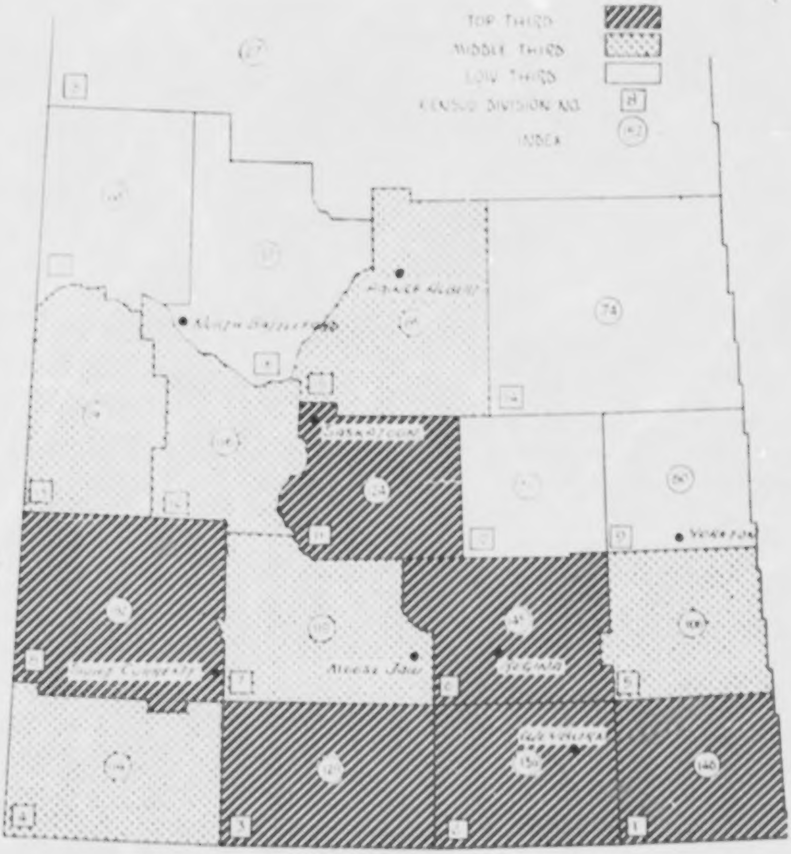
The fact that the three items in the index were given equal weight also should be kept in mind. Division No. 8, for example, has an index score seven points higher than that of Division No. 6. Inspection of the data utilized in constructing the index reveals that actually No. 6 is higher in electricity and automobiles and that No. 8 gets its higher index score because 12.7 per cent of its farm houses have piped-in water compared to 10.1 per cent in Division No. 6. Since the average for all divisions is only 6 per cent, a small edge in piped-in water would affect the total index much more than an edge of the same size in an item like automobiles where the average for all divisions is 56.8 per cent.[9]

The Saskatchewan index of material possessions is neither a precise nor an absolute measure. It only indicates how a particular census division stands in relation to all the divisions. The provincial average is equivalent to an index score of 100. Thus, the index for any particular division will show how many per cent it is above or below the average for the province. Table 1 in Appendix I shows the percentages utilized in computing the index.

An index of mechanization for census divisions provides a valuable comparison with the index of material possessions. Table 2 in Appendix I shows the mechanization scores for census divisions, together with the data on value of farm machinery which were used in computing this index. Again a score of 100 is equivalent to the provincial average, with the division scores indicating how each division stands in relation to the provincial average.

Except for the southwest corner of the province, all divisions below the provincial average in extent of mechanization are located in east-

FIGURE 1. INDEX OF MATERIAL POSSESSIONS FOR OCCUPIED FARM DWELLINGS, BY CENSUS DIVISION, SASKATCHEWAN, 1951


TOP THIRD
MIDDLE THIRD
LOW THIRD
CENSUS DIVISION NO.
8
INDEX
74
Prince Albert
North Battleford
Saskatoon
124
Yorkton
Swift Current
Moose Jaw
Regina
Weyburn
120
130
140
1
3
5
6
7
9

SOURCE: *Census of Canada*, special tabulation by Dominion Bureau of Statistics. (See Appendix I for supporting data.)

ern and northern Saskatchewan. In Figure 2 the association between mechanization and material possessions is shown graphically. Clearly, there is a positive relationship between farm mechanization and

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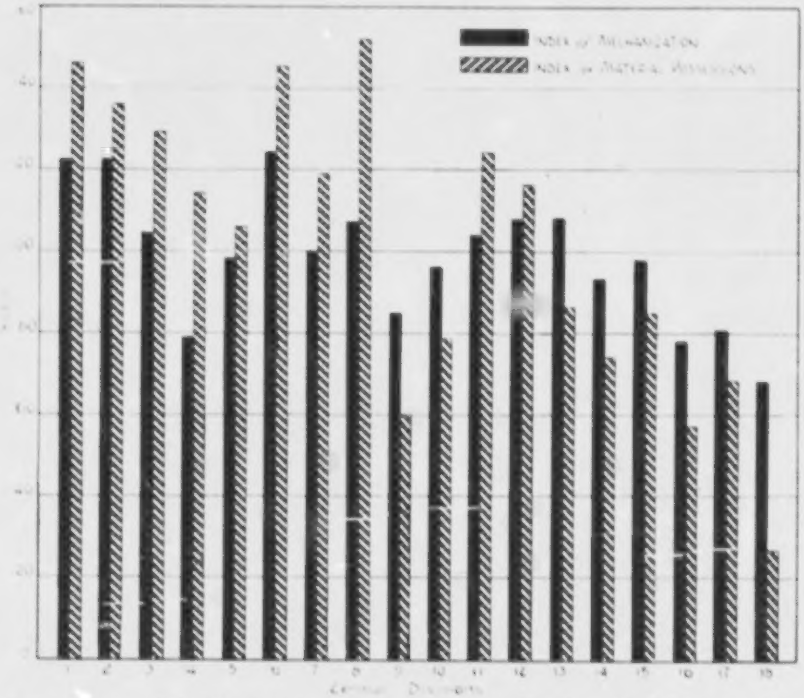
[7] Margaret Jarman Hagood, *Farm-Operator Family Level-of-Living Indexes for Counties of the United States, 1930, 1940, 1945, and 1950,* United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., May, 1952, p. 75.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 76.

[9] To adjust for such factors would require constructing a weighted index of material possessions, utilizing correlation coefficients and factor analysis, but the present index is satisfactory for the purpose of making broad comparisons.

material possessions.[10] It will be noted from Figure 2, however, that for all the census divisions in the two southern tiers, relative standing on material possessions is higher than for mechanization. But the reverse is true for all the other divisions north of them, except for No. 11 and No. 12. While no cause-effect relationship is necessarily proved and while one must stress that these are group rather than individual data, it would appear that, on the average, the comparatively extensive mechanization in the northern divisions has not yet been accompanied by so extensive material possessions as in the southern divisions, perhaps because of the recency of mechanization in the north.[11]

FIGURE 2. INDEXES OF MECHANIZATION AND MATERIAL POSSESSIONS, BY CENSUS DIVISION, SASKATCHEWAN, 1951



SOURCE: *Census of Canada*, Dominion Bureau of Statistics. (See Appendix I for supporting data.)

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[10] The coefficient of correlation for these two sets of measures is +.777. In other words, the greater the relative mechanization, the higher the relative level of material possessions tends to be.

[11] Two other factors may be cited. First, in the north there are earlier, harder winters and later springs. The farmer has less time for home improvement work. Second, specialized services for home improvement are not as available in the north as in the south.

Clearly, the index of material possessions is indicative only of the average of living throughout an area and says nothing about the range of variations within an area. Farm homes with the most modern facilities may be located adjacent to farms that have neither electricity, piped-in water, nor the conveniences made possible by them.

Table 8 gives information for the various census divisions for specific items. The percentages for electricity and piped-in water are given to permit comparisons with percentages of conveniences that potentially could go with these facilities. In every census division there is a lag between the two.

Mechanical refrigerators and flush toilets are not particularly common in Saskatchewan farmhouses. In Division No. 18 these items were so rare that the Census omitted making estimates of them. The influence of cities is noticeable, since their respective census divisions usually show the highest proportions of farm homes with specified living facilities.

The other items shown in Table 8 are more common throughout the province. Some of the differences among census divisions are fairly small. Again one notes the apparent influence of cities within the census division for the possession of telephones, for instance. The proportion of homes with radios, however, turns out to be something of a special case. The radio is one item that is almost universal, even in the northern areas.

From Table 8 it will be noted that the four census divisions in which fewer than 50 per cent of farms have passenger automobiles are in the north. The use of the truck by many families for passenger transportation, however, should not be overlooked. Figure 3 gives the percentages of farms with automobiles and trucks by census divisions. In six of the census divisions there were more occupied farms with motor trucks than with automobiles. These divisions (Numbers 3, 4, 7, 8, 12, and 18) are in the southwest, west central, and north.

Furnaces are not shown in these tables because estimates were not available for eight of the divisions. In Division No. 6, however, 37 per cent of the farm homes and in Division No. 1, 36 per cent of the farm homes were equipped with furnaces. These divisions probably were among the best in the possession of furnaces.

In summary, substantial differences in material levels of living exist among different rural areas within Saskatchewan. These variations were found to correspond with the extent of mechanization of agriculture in the area. Thus, the highly mechanized areas have a greater percentage of rural homes with electricity, piped-in water supply, and automobiles.

Rural and Urban Contrasts

Another way of evaluating the material level of living on Saskatchewan farms is to make comparisons with the non-farm part of the population. This group includes not only the urban but also the rural non-farm population — residents of villages and towns under 1,000 population.[12] The Commission is

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[12] Before 1951, the Census defined "rural non-farm" somewhat differently. In previous Censuses, this category included residents of small unincorporated places, suburban residents living outside the limits of larger cities, and non-farmer rural residents, such as fishermen and trappers.

TABLE 8. PROPORTION OF OCCUPIED FARM DWELLINGS WITH SPECIFIED LIVING CONVENIENCES, SASKATCHEWAN, 1951

Census Division	Number Occupied Dwellings	Per Cent of Dwellings With:							
		Electricity	Mechanical Refrigerator	Piped-in Water	Flush toilet	Power Washing Machine	Telephone	Radio	Passenger Automobile
1	4,890	29	11	10	4	68	66	94	72
2	4,465	30	12	9	5	75	59	93	62
3	4,750	25	10	10	4	66	50	89	56
4	2,855	19	5	10	3	54	31	91	51
5	7,070	20	8	6	2	66	71	93	73
6	6,660	31	15	10	6	73	72	95	68
7	4,840	29	10	7	3	70	57	94	60
8	4,595	29	14	13	4	67	47	93	60
9	8,375	10	2	2	1	50	35	90	57
10	6,360	18	4	3	1	54	53	92	59
11	4,655	27	9	8	3	66	49	93	65
12	4,305	25	9	8	4	64	67	95	52
13	4,470	15	4	5	1	66	66	94	55
14	9,580	16	6	4	1	53	24	90	46
15	10,320	21	7	4	2	58	44	91	50
16	6,655	11	3	2	1	45	33	90	44
17	4,640	14	3	3	1	49	37	91	45
18	485	5	—	1	—	43	2	87	22
Province	99,970	21	7	6	2	60	50	92	57

SOURCE: *Census of Canada*, special tabulation by Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1953.

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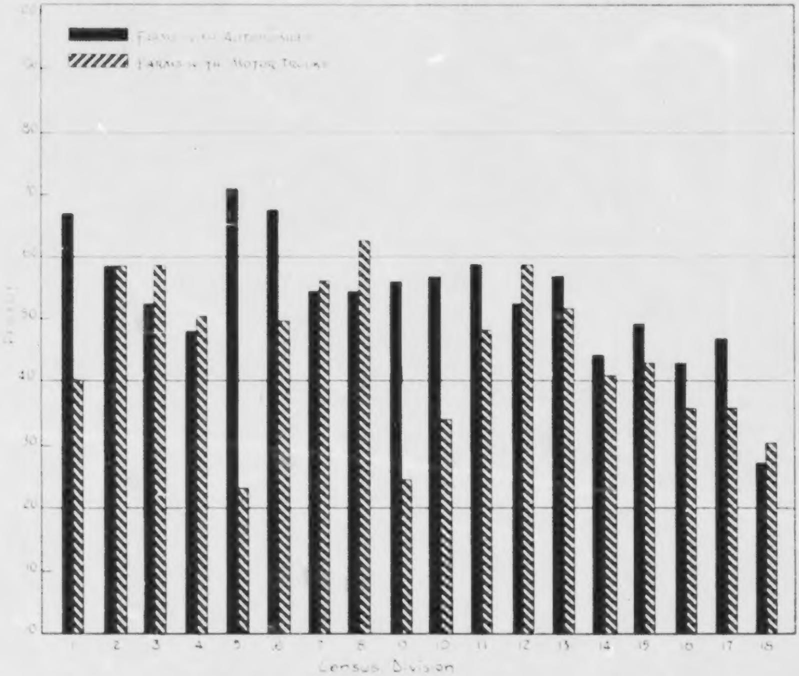
FIGURE 3. PROPORTION OF OCCUPIED FARMS WITH AUTOMOBILES AND MOTOR TRUCKS, BY CENSUS DIVISION, SASKATCHEWAN, 1951



SOURCE: *Census of Canada*, Dominion Bureau of Statistics. (See Appendix I for supporting data.)

concerned with conditions of living of this rural non-farm group, also.

At a community hearing held by the Commission, one individual inquired why the Commissioners were concerned about farm homes, since they were in better shape than many of the residences in the villages. The data presented in Tables 9 and 10 give some support to this statement. Rural non-farm families were not appreciably better off than farm families in items like flush toilets; non-farm families were less well off when it came to telephones and radios. Only in home electrification and in the lack of need for major repair to the home does the non-farm group have a considerable advantage. Twenty-seven per cent of farm homes in 1951 were in need of major repair, but only 19 per cent of rural non-farm homes were in need of major repair.[13]

Perhaps the most serious rural non-farm problem has to do with water and sewage facilities. In all Saskatchewan in 1953 there were only 44 waterworks systems and 33 sewage systems; many fairly sizeable towns lacked them. In seven towns with a population of more than 1,000 no facilities of any kind existed. Of 52 towns with a popula-

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[13] *Census of Canada*, 1951.

TABLE 9. COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF FARM, RURAL NON-FARM, AND URBAN DWELLINGS WITH SPECIFIED LIVING CONVENIENCES, SASKATCHEWAN, 1951

Convenience	Farm	Rural Non-Farm	Urban	Total Province
	Per cent			
Electricity	21	65	98	56
Piped-in water supply	6	10	69	27
Furnace	23	28	71	39
Passenger automobile	57	44	44	50
Radio	92	88	96	92
Telephone	50	28	63	49
Electric or gas range	5	10	44	19
Mechanical refrigerator	7	19	45	22
Power washing machine	60	62	79	67
Flush toilet	2	3	68	23
Total number of dwellings	99,970	51,780	69,705	221,455

SOURCE: *Census of Canada*, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

tion of between 500 and 1,000, only seven had a waterworks system and only two a sewage system. Of centers under 500 population, 98 per cent were without any such services.[14]

By comparison with all urban homes, rural homes are more crowded. Twenty-five per cent of rural homes were described as crowded in the 1951 census but only 17 per cent of urban homes.[15] In comparison to urban homes, of the conveniences listed in Table 9, farm homes led only in the possession of passenger automobiles. A substantial number of farms, however, had radios (92 per cent), power washing machines (60 per cent), and telephones (50 per cent). Although 21 per cent of farms had electricity in 1951, only 7 per cent had a mechanical refrigerator and only 5 per cent an electric range, indicating a lag in the use of electricity in the home.

By showing the reverse picture, proportions of homes lacking specified conveniences, Table 10 underlines additional points. There are very few homes that do not boast at least one of the following five items: a power washing machine, an electric vacuum cleaner, a telephone, a radio, or an automobile. There are more rural non-farm

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[14] Unpublished data of the Saskatchewan Department of Public Health, 1953.

[15] Figures on crowding are not broken down in the 1951 census for rural non-farm homes.

TABLE 10. COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF FARM, RURAL NON-FARM, AND URBAN DWELLINGS LACKING SPECIFIED CONVENIENCES, SASKATCHEWAN, 1951

Convenience Lacking	Farm	Rural Non-Farm	Urban	Total Province
	Per cent			
Power washing machine, electric vacuum cleaner, telephone, radio, or automobile	4	9	2	5
Flush or chemical toilet	90	85	28	69
Refrigerator or icebox	83	77	38	68
Total number of dwellings	99,970	51,780	69,705	221,455

SOURCE: *Census of Canada*, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

homes than farm homes that do not have at least one of these items.

For such conveniences as refrigeration and sewage disposal, even if one considers improved although not the most modern facilities, the picture does not change appreciably. Chemical toilets do not require piped-in water; iceboxes do not require power. Yet, even counting chemical as well as flush toilets, about 90 per cent of farm and 85 per cent of rural non-farm homes are without either. (The development of new techniques for sewage disposal, such as the recent introduction of the above ground filter for dwellings, is expected to have some effect on the sanitation problem[16]). Even considering iceboxes as well as mechanical refrigerators, 83 per cent of farm homes and 77 per cent of rural non-farm homes are without either convenience. But for urban homes, counting iceboxes increases by 17 per cent the proportion of homes that have some kind of refrigeration.

Table 11 reflects further the effect of urbanization and the lower cost of extending services in concentrated urban areas as compared to scattered farm dwellings. For six items, grouping urban places into three size categories, the larger the urban place, the larger the proportion of dwellings that has these conveniences. The low percentage of rural non-farm homes in villages and small towns with facilities dependent on waterworks and sewage systems raises a question as to the ability of local government in small centers of population to provide these services.

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[16] See *Sewage Disposal for Rural Homes in Saskatchewan*, Department of Public Health, Division of Sanitation, Sanitation Bulletin No. 1, 1955.

TABLE 11. COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF DWELLINGS WITH SPECIFIED LIVING CONVENIENCES CLASSIFIED BY SIZE OF URBAN PLACE, SASKATCHEWAN, 1951

Convenience	Urban Places Under 10,000	Urban Places 10,000-29,999	Urban Places Over 30,000	Total Urban
	Per cent			
Electricity	97	99	99	98
Piped-in water supply	52	70	81	69
Furnace	56	76	79	71
Automobile	45	43	44	44
Radio	95	96	96	96
Telephone	46	62	76	63
Electric or gas range	31	41	54	44
Mechanical refrigerator	42	41	49	45
Washing machine	80	75	81	79
Flush toilet	43	74	83	68
Total Number of Dwellings	23,890	11,675	34,140	69,705

SOURCE: *Census of Canada*, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

Changes From 1941 to 1951

In the decade from 1941 to 1951, rural housing was improved. In this period, the number of homes requiring major repair declined by 20 per cent.[17] In 1944, the Farm Improvement Loans Act was passed, under which loans are made for the installation, repair, or improvement of heating and plumbing systems, for painting any farm building or decorating the interior of a farm home, or for the addition of rooms or storeys to farm buildings.[18] Under the National Housing Act, loans may be had for structural alterations to the exterior or interior of a farm home, for heating, power, and sewage disposal systems, for painting, paperhanging, and decorating.[19] But the farm home must be occupied as a dwelling the year round.

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[17] *Census of Canada,* 1941 and 1951.

[18] Regulations to the Farm Improvement Loans Act, *Canada Gazette,* Vol. 88, Part 2, Nos. 23-24, 1954, p. 2208.

[19] Regulations to the National Housing Act, *Canada Gazette,* Vol. 88, Part 2, Nos. 23-24, 1954, p. 1933.

Saskatchewan farmers, however, have confined their loans under the Farm Improvement Loans Act mainly to farm improvements and, within that category, to loans for the purchase of implements.[20] The funds available for loans under these statutes have probably not been greatly used for repair and remodelling of farm homes because of the priority given to production needs as against the needs of the farm home.

Table 12 shows, in a rough way, how rural and urban status affected the matter of relative gains in household conveniences in the province from 1941 to 1951. The logic of using the measure of relative gain was explained above. It is a way of showing how successful a particular item has been in spreading among the non-owners of the convenience. While Saskatchewan farm homes showed only a 17 per cent relative gain in the percentage with electricity, the relative gains for urban and rural non-farm homes were 90 and 59 per cent, respectively.

Caution must be used in interpreting Table 12 because of changes in Census definitions from 1941 to 1951. The main change of interest here was in the distribution of the non-farm part of the population. Small incorporated places which were formerly counted as part of

TABLE 12. INCREASE IN PERCENTAGE OF OCCUPIED DWELLINGS WITH SPECIFIED LIVING CONVENIENCES, FOR FARM, RURAL NON-FARM, AND URBAN GROUPS, SASKATCHEWAN, 1941-1951

	Actual Increase				Relative Increase*			
Convenience	Farm	Rural Non-Farm	Urban	Total	Farm	Rural Non-Farm	Urban	Total
	Per cent							
Electricity	16	54	18	25	17	59	90	36
Piped-in water supply	5	8	26	11	5	8	46	15
Furnace	11	20	16	12	13	22	36	16
Passenger automobile	11	11	7	8	20	16	10	14
Radio	20	28	11	16	71	70	73	67
Telephone	17	10	29	17	25	12	44	25
Electric or gas range	3	8	26	12	3	8	32	13
Mechanical refrigerator	7	18	27	16	7	18	33	17
Flush toilet	2	2	28	8	2	2	47	9

SOURCE: *Census of Canada*, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

* The relative increase is the actual increase measured as a percentage of the occupied dwellings that did *not* have the specified convenience in 1941.

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[20] See the Commission's report on Agricultural Credit, p. 39.

the urban population appeared as "rural non-farm" in 1951 if they were under 1,000 in size. By considering together the rural non-farm and urban groups in Table 12, however, it is still possible to make rough comparisons with the farm group. Thus, in the example of electricity, cited above, it is clear that the non-farm homes (whether rural non-farm or urban) scored impressive relative gains in electrification, as compared to the farm homes, from 1941 to 1951.

Homes with furnaces and refrigerators were the next to show fairly high relative gains in the urban and rural non-farm areas, compared to the farms. Noticeable for the urban residences were the impressive relative gains (which represent in part a change in the definition of "urban") for proportions of homes with piped-in water supply and a convenience made possible by a water supply — flush toilets. The only urban item to show a rather low relative gain from 1941 to 1951 was the automobile. The farms show their best relative gains for radios, telephones, and automobiles.

The Effect of Moving to Town

Comparisons of the levels of living of farm and non-farm families are of interest, but what happens to the level of living of a family when it moves away from the farm? To answer this question, the Commission conducted a field study during the summer of 1953. A small but unbiased sample of village and town farmers was interviewed in order to determine what effect their change of residence had upon their material level of living.[21]

Forty-one families were visited in Lake Lenore, Milden, Kincaid, and Grayson,[22] and 38 families in Tisdale, Kamsack, Leader, and Maple Creek. The communities and homes were selected by random sampling methods and represent a cross-section of farmers residing in both small and fairly sizable places. For the sake of convenience, the first group is designated "villages" (populations ranged from 255 to 361 in 1951) and the second group "towns" (populations ranged from 835 to 2,327 in 1951).

A census of household conveniences was made with the co-operation of these families in order to compare their present housing situation with that which they had before they left the farm. Generally, interviews were not taken if it had been more than eight or nine years since the family had moved from the farm. All families were still actively involved in farming.

Results of the survey are presented in Table 13. It appears that while living on the farm this sample represented a higher than average group in the extent of its possession of most home amenities, as is indicated by comparing Table 13 with the 1951 farm data presented earlier in Table 9. Except for three items, the proportions of families possessing various conveniences after their move to town or village show sharp increases — for example, from 5 to 71 and 5 to 82 per cent in possession of refrigerators, 15 to 49 per cent and 8 to 55 per cent in piped-in water supply, and 0 to 37 per

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[21] Further explanation of sampling methods and procedure is given in the Commission's report on Movement of Farm People.

[22] The Grayson sample included several interviews from Abernethy.

TABLE 13. PERCENTAGE OF TOWN AND VILLAGE FARMERS WITH SPECIFIED LIVING CONVENIENCES BEFORE AND AFTER MOVING FROM FARM, SASKATCHEWAN, 1953

Convenience	Before Moving From Farm		In 1953	
	Village Farmer	Town Farmer	Village Farmer	Town Farmer
	Per cent			
Electricity	32	32	98	100
Piped-in water supply	15	8	49	55
Furnace	37	24	68	60
Automobile or truck	95	92	93	95
Radio	100	100	100	97
Telephone	85	60	78	58
Electric or gas range	0	3	37	39
Mechanical refrigerator	5	5	71	82
Power washing machine	76	58	100	95
Flush toilet	7	3	24	39
Number of Farmers in Sample	41	38	41	38

SOURCE: Field Survey, Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life, 1953.

cent and 3 to 39 per cent in electric or gas ranges. The exceptions are automobiles, radios, and telephones, for which there are slight declines. In the case of the percentage of village farmers with radios, no change at all occurred, since the figure remained at 100 per cent. This result could be taken as evidence that automobiles, radios, and telephones are relatively more important for the farmer's material level of living than some of the items urban residents might rate highest.

As far as these data show, the amount of improvement did not seem to be too significantly related to the size of the town, except for one or two items. Water and the services which depend on water appear to be the only significant gain in moving to a town as opposed to moving to a village. Moving either to a small place of 300 or 400 people or to a larger one of more than 1,000 resulted in impressive changes for the families involved. No doubt these families would have improved their material level of living on the farm also, had they stayed there the past few years, but one can be certain it would not have been to the extent reported above. Although the survey did not gather data on motivations, it may be assumed that people moved into towns to obtain the services they desired. At least, those people who moved into towns took advantage of services available in urban centers.

Table 14 brings out the changes a little more explicitly. Relatively speaking, the two largest increases are in percentages of homes with electricity and power washing machines. As an accompaniment of moving to town or village, almost all the previous non-owners succeeded in acquiring these items. Large relative gains (69 to 81 per cent) in both village and town are also recorded for percentages of homes with mechanical refrigerators.

In summary, urban homes in all types of urban centers surpassed farm homes in every respect that can be used to measure amenities of living. When homes in villages and small towns as a group were compared with farm homes, however, it was found that homes in small urban centers were less well off with respect to telephones and radios and had an advantage over farm homes only in electrification and in the lack of need for major repair. The most serious problem

TABLE 14. INCREASE IN SPECIFIED LIVING CONVENIENCES OF TOWN AND VILLAGE FARMERS AFTER MOVING FROM FARM, SASKATCHEWAN, 1953

Convenience	Actual Increase		Relative Increase*	
	Village Farmers	Town Farmers	Village Farmers	Town Farmers
	Percent			
Electricity	66	68	97	100
Piped-in water supply	34	47	40	51
Furnace	32	37	50	48
Automobile or truck	−2	3	−5	33
Radio	0	−3	0	−3
Telephone	−7	−2	−8	−3
Electric or gas range	37	37	37	38
Mechanical refrigerator	66	76	69	81
Power washing machine	24	37	100	88
Flush toilet	17	37	18	38
Number of Farmers in Sample	41	38	41	38

SOURCE: Field Survey, Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life, 1953.

* The relative increase is computed as a percentage of the proportion who did not have the item on the farm. (A relative decrease is computed as a percentage of the proportion who did have the item on the farm.)

in small urban centres is the provision of water and sewage facilities. In the decade from 1941 to 1951, most conveniences spread faster to urban and rural non-farm homes than to farm homes. Farm homes showed their best gain in this period in radios, telephones, and automobiles. Movement to village or town has substantially increased the material level of living of specific farm families.

Amenities of Family Living in the Future

The amenities that will characterize rural homes in the future will depend on economic conditions and the direction of social change in general. Farm income in the future will be fundamental to improvements in living levels. Further movement of active farmers to urban centers will improve their levels of living. The electrification of increasing numbers of farms will have a strong impact on rural living. And scientific and technological changes may have far-reaching effects on the level of living of farm families. Atomic energy may have great significance for the home of the future, although the exact direction of such change is difficult to predict. Labour-saving inventions, such as an electronic device which reduces cooking time to a matter of seconds, might revolutionize housekeeping.

The future course of amenities in rural homes will depend to some extent on the values and attitudes towards family life. These basic values vary among rural families, and it is difficult to predict to what extent they may change or over how long a period. Virtually all farm families, however, are interested in higher physical standards for the home.

Physical possessions may be classified as (1) necessities, which are regarded as indispensable by low and high income families alike; (2) luxuries, used by families with higher incomes but desired by most other families; and (3) rarities, possessed by relatively few families. Such a classification is, of course, not absolute. Amenities that were once rated as luxuries become necessities as farm incomes increase, electrification spreads to more areas, and home heating and water systems are improved. The average Saskatchewan rural family of the mid-1950's has a material level of living probably 20 to 30 per cent higher than in 1941 (cf. Table 12). There is no reason why the growth in the use of items once considered luxuries should not continue. In addition, there may well be a spread of a wide range of new items that promote better living. These include television, water softeners, electric dishwashers, garbage disposal units, clothes driers, clothing made from new synthetic fabrics, home air conditioning, new methods of heating, and electronic devices to freeze, thaw, or cook foods in seconds.

The trend towards better material living, including community services such as schools and medical care, has been persistent. While there may be temporary setbacks during years of poor economic conditions, the indication is that the long-time trend will continue strongly.

At the present time, the problem of rural housing is urgent. Much of rural housing is inadequate for family living. Many farm homes need major improvements; others should be entirely replaced. The problem is complicated because it is tied up with operation of the farm, and frequently the farm does not provide sufficient income to pay for a better house. As other problems affecting farm income, credit, land tenure, mechanization, and electrification are met, farm housing will also be improved. Although the exact course of the level of living of the future is unknown, it is certain that farm families in the future will, as in the past, seek to achieve ever higher levels of living.

Summary

Comparison with Other Provinces

As of December 31, 1953, there was a minimum rural housing shortage in Saskatchewan of more than 16,800 dwellings, with a supplementary need to alleviate crowding and obsolete accommodation for an additional 62,485 dwellings. The provision of 16,800 houses would mean homes for about 61,500 rural residents, while additional homes to fill the supplementary need would affect another 217,000. In 1951, 25 per cent of rural homes in Saskatchewan were crowded (number of persons exceeded number of rooms in the dwelling), and 25 per cent of rural homes were in need of major repair. In selected provinces, Saskatchewan followed Alberta and Manitoba in the high proportion of rural homes that were crowded. Except for Alberta, Saskatchewan had the largest proportion of rural homes requiring major repair.

With respect to home conveniences, Saskatchewan in 1951 ranked lowest of the provinces, excluding Newfoundland, in percentage of farm homes possessing electricity, piped-in water supply, mechanical refrigerators, and flush toilets. Saskatchewan's most noticeable deficiency in comparison to farm areas elsewhere in Canada was in the extent of electrification, but recent advances in rural electrification are changing the situation rapidly.

Variation in Farm Homes Within the Province

Substantial differences in material levels of living exist among different rural areas within Saskatchewan. If electricity, piped-in water, and automobiles are taken as a reflection of material levels of living, the south and central census divisions of the province are high while the northern divisions are low. The extent of mechanization of agriculture in various areas of the province is clearly related to the possession of home conveniences.

Rural and Urban Contrasts

Rural non-farm families in villages and small towns are not appreciably better off than farm families in items like flush toilets; non-farm families are less well off when it comes to telephones and radios. Only in home electrification and the lack of need for major repair to the home does the non-farm group have a considerable advantage. The most serious rural non-farm problem is that of water and sewage facilities.

In comparison to urban homes, farm homes lead only in the possession of passenger automobiles, although a large proportion of farms have radios, power washing machines, and telephones. Urbanization is a clear advantage in facilitating the possession of home conveniences. The larger the urban place the larger the proportion of dwellings that have conveniences. But the low percentage of rural non-farm homes in villages and small towns with facilities dependent on waterworks and sewage systems raises a question as to the ability of local government in small centers of population to provide these services.

Most conveniences have been spreading faster to urban and rural non-farm homes than to farm homes. Electricity, for example, has spread to more rural non-farm homes than to farm homes. In the decade 1941-1951, farm homes showed their best gain in radios, telephones, and automobiles.

The Effect of Moving to Town

A field study made by the Commission in 1953 showed that when farmers moved into a village or town they improved their material level of living substantially. Possession of refrigerators, piped-in water supply, and electric or gas ranges increased after the move to village or town.

CHAPTER V

Family Relationships in the Rural Family

In the preceding chapters, the evolution in the material level of living of farm families has been described. The increase in amenities of living resulted in large measure from the impact of agricultural change, but many farm homes are still without conveniences considered essential in urban centers. Here attention is turned to less tangible aspects of farm family living — to the organization of the family and relationships among its members.

What kind of rural family has emerged out of the transformation from pioneer to modern farming. To pose such a question assumes that there is an interrelationship between the family and the enterprise of agriculture itself and that the farm family is a vital part of that broader social fabric which currently displays the impact of comparatively rapid changes. The change is apparent enough in matters of technology, acceptance of mechanical innovations, and improved farming practices. The change in the mobility of the farm family is also clear. Farm families today are no longer confined to their own neighbourhoods; the automobile has enabled farm families to live in enlarged communities, travelling to urban centers for shopping and recreation.

The size and characteristics of farm families have also changed. Table 15 implies that the average size of the rural family decreased

TABLE 15. SIZES OF RURAL FAMILIES, SASKATCHEWAN, 1921 AND 1951

Number of Children	Proportion of Families	
	1921	1951
	Percent	
0	33.7	28.4
1	14.9	21.4
2	14.1	20.7
3	11.3	13.3
4	8.6	7.4
5	6.3	4.0
6 and over	11.1	4.8

SOURCE: *Census of Canada*, Dominion Bureau of Statistics from 1921 to 1951. But in 1951 rural Saskatchewan families were still larger than urban families. Farm families averaged 4.1 persons and rural non-farm families 3.6 persons, compared to the average urban size of 3.4 persons. Generally, the larger rural families were found in the northern and eastern parts of the settled area of the province.

The proportion of the total population of the province that was married rose from 35 per cent in 1911 to 45 per cent in 1951. Of the population 15 years of age and over, approximately 65 per cent were married in 1951. A greater proportion of teen-agers were married than in previous decades. The proportion of married persons was about the same for rural and urban populations. There were, however, more single males than single females in the rural areas; the reverse was true for urban areas.

In addition to increased numbers of families, people were getting married at younger ages than in the past. Whereas the average age at marriage in 1915 was 28.2 years for the husband and 23.5 for the wife, in 1953 the ages were 26.2 years for the husband and 22.5 years for the wife.

Despite the many new households being formed and the lower age at marriage, the rural population has been declining. In 1914 rural births exceeded deaths by 7,686, and in 1951 rural births exceeded deaths by 10,878.[1] But more people are leaving rural areas today than in the past. In 1914, 15,314 persons immigrated to rural areas of the province. By contrast, in 1951, 21,878 persons left the rural areas for urban centers within the province or for places outside the province.

In addition to changes in the material level of living of farm families and in addition to changes in size and age characteristics, is there also a basic change in the non-material aspect of living which we may call "family organization" or "family relationships"?

The justification for even raising such a question should be apparent. It is a matter of more than academic interest. For there is a tendency upon the part of some citizens to enshrine the earlier family pattern and to consider it a guide to the solution of rural problems. The presumption appears to be that the traditional habits and values help families to operate their farms as efficient units, that they promote family continuity on the land — indeed, that they are closely related to a number of goals that many people interested in rural society's welfare evaluate as good.

What is the truth of the matter? The fact is that, researchwise, we do not know whether traditional family patterns accomplish these ends today. Actual research evidence is limited and conflicting.[2] The family *farm* receives attention and study in these times, but surprisingly little is said about the farm *family*. Although the public is concerned about increasing the efficiency of farm operations, raising and stabilizing farm income through crop insurance, farm credit, and other programs, comparatively little attention is given to the family, which certainly has an effect upon, and is affected by, these programs. It is popular to say, "Just make the farmer prosperous, and the family part of the problem will take care of itself." Indeed, there may be some truth to the assertion. But it is not the whole truth. The level of prosperity necessary for material improvements in the home in itself does not guarantee any given kind of family organization. We need facts about our farm families as well as about our farms.

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[1] Information from the Division of Vital Statistics, Department of Public Health.

[2] See the article by Eugene A. Wilkening, "Changes in Farm Technology as Related to Familism, Family Decision Making, and Family Integration," *American Sociological Review*, February, 1954, pp. 29-37, and the bulletin by Robert A. Rohwer, *Family Factors in Tenure Experience: Hamilton County, Iowa, 1946*, Research Bulletin 375, Agricultural Experiment Station, Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa, 1950.

To this end, the Commission conducted a modest research project to test the extent to which changes in family relationships could be detected. Because of the small size and limitations of the sample, the conclusions reported below must be regarded as tentative. But one point is clear. The Saskatchewan farm families visited in the Commission field survey showed considerable variation in patterns of family organization. Hence, for practical programs of public and private agencies, it would seem wise not to take the family for granted — at least, not to assume that any one pattern necessarily describes the type of family in rural areas. Even though a particular type of family has been associated historically with agriculture, it will be safer today to expect wide variation in family patterns and capacities. It is not enough today to speak glibly of the farm family. "What kind of farm family" would be more to the point.

Suppose a public or private program is devised to help qualified farmers stay in the occupation of agriculture and suppose it wishes to appeal to and to utilize, at least whenever possible, family patterns in this task. There are then some very real questions that should be raised:

Are farm families in one area of the province differently patterned from those in other areas?

Are particular family characteristics found associated to a greater extent with some types of farming than with others?

What is the importance of family characteristics as related to size of farm? Size of income? The stage of the family life cycle? Physical isolation? Ethnic background?

If definitive answers could be given to questions like these, the results would have practical meaning for those who deal with planning and administering farm programs and for church and other community leaders. Unfortunately, these questions cannot be answered definitively in a modest research project such as this. A start can be made, however, in this long neglected field. It is possible to arrive at some tentative conclusions that should provide better working concepts not only for the personnel who plan and work with farm people but also for farm families interested in a better understanding of themselves as families.

Family Relationships in the Past

In order to measure changes in family relationships, some means of comparison is necessary. If data like those collected by the Commission in 1953 had been collected for a similar sample of farm families in 1913, the changes in family relationships in the 40-year period could have been precisely measured. Since this was not done, the Commission has chosen as a yardstick the presumed relationships that existed within the farm family in the past — before agriculture was mechanized, educational opportunities were increased and before automobiles made possible great mobility for farm families. To be sure, family relationships varied among pioneer families as they vary among farm families today, but in general it may be assumed from scattered literary and historical sources that the family of the pioneers was "the closely knit, relatively permanent, largely self-sustaining household in which husband, wife and children live and labour.[3] In the pioneer family, family interests were paramount, and many activities essential for survival or designed for recreation were conducted by the family as a unit. As one chronicler of earlier days stated, "The domestic hearth, the family joys and hardships must have formed the exclusive stimulus of existence for the first settlers; therein they concentrated all their affections and cares."[4]

For the purposes of this study, it has been assumed that the farm family in the past was characterized by considerable family integration or "wholeness" of family activity and thinking. Since the occupation of farming is closely related to the way of life of the farmer and his family, it was natural that the farm was typically operated as a family enterprise and that many activities were shared by the family.

A clear-cut division of labour on the farm among the various members of the family was also in large measure characteristic of farm families in the past. Duties were often divided along sex and age lines, with a kind of natural apprenticeship. Little children and older girls customarily worked with the mother inside the home, in the garden, and gathering eggs. The older boys worked with the father and were assigned appropriate tasks, such as feeding livestock, carrying wood, water, and ashes. According to one sociologist,

> Certain of these tasks come to be known among the children themselves as "boy's work" and "girl's work". Farm boys are not expected to wash dishes and would be rather humiliated if compelled to do so. On the other hand, boys learn to drive the team, handle livestock, and operate the tractor and other machinery at early ages. It is the farm boy's ambition to be able to do "men's work" as early as possible. Girls for their part are expected to help in the house, with the small stock, and with the family garden—in other words, to be of assistance to mother.[5]

It is assumed that in the traditional rural family of the past field and barn work was customarily done only by the men. The mother might help in the field or the barn at unusually busy times, as at harvest or in emergencies. Usually, however, she did not. An exception may have existed in certain ethnic groups, where it was customary for women and girls to do field work. Or the pattern, of course, differed in families with daughters but no sons.

Family relationships in the early Saskatchewan family tended to be dominated by the father, who was the center of authority in the family. This tendency was an inheritance from earlier times, going back as far as the ancient Greek, Roman, and Hebrew family systems. It was reflected even in the law under which the rights of wives and children were subordinate to the father's rights. Examples of decisions in which the husband and father was the most influential family member included deciding what crops to plant, when, and where, buying machinery, buying equipment for the house, borrowing money, giving to church or charity, giving the children their spending money, and punishing the children. Even in this father-centered pattern, however, certain areas of decision and responsibility were left to the wife. For example, she was most influential in deciding whether any redecorating was to be done in the house, or she saw that the children studied their lessons. While father-centered decision making did not necessarily mean a harsh family environment, nevertheless parental discipline was more likely to be strict than not. The prevailing belief in earlier days was expressed in the old maxim, "Children should be seen and not heard."

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[3] Robert L. Sutherland, Julian L. Woodward, and Milton A. Maxwell, *Introductory Sociology*, 4th ed., J. B. Lippincott Co., Chicago, 1952, p. 451.

[4] Quoted in Arthur W. Calhoun, *A Social History of the American Family*, Barnes and Noble, Inc., New York, 1945, Vol. II, p. 141.

[5] Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology*, American Book Co., New York, 1955, pp. 286-287.

The father also probably often determined the method of allocating income to the various members of the family, although all members of the family may have contributed to the work of the farm. The wife was not allocated a regular, dependable part of the income to spend herself; the husband paid all or most of the bills for the family. The children did not receive a regular amount of money or wage for their labour nor were they compensated by being given property, particularly livestock, which was legally their own. Later, of course, they might receive substantial aid from their parents to get started in farming. Thus, a family member did not necessarily feel deprived. The land and money were considered family property actually, but the father had control of it.

Relatives were of prime importance to the early farm family. Visiting back and forth with kinfolk constituted the chief and most meaningful type of association in the pioneer commuity. A number of relatives tended to be located within a ten-mile radius. The children, as they settled on farms of their own, tended to locate nearby. There was pride in the family line; genealogy was a common body of knowledge. One had only to refer to the family Bible — often the only book in the house and highly prized. Kinship solidarity was reflected in the practice of caring for poor and incapacitated relatives and adopting related orphans. One expected to have the aid of his relatives in doing heavy work or in time of emergency and to do as much for them. Even church and politics were dominated by family connections.[6]

Kinship was related, too, to the matter of family continuity in farming. The tendency for the farm youth was to marry one of the neighbour girls, merging not only two people but two families. It was expected that the respective families would help the couple to get started. Before long, perhaps a dozen related families might be concentrated in a locality, all interacting and developing a common viewpoint. And, of course, the pressure of community custom was to leave all or most of one's property to his kin.

Under the traditional family pattern, a farmer and his wife received parental help to get started in farming. The farmer did not get the help because he was the oldest, youngest, or for any other special reason; all the brothers who wanted to stay in farming were treated similarly. The farmer and his wife wanted their own children in turn to stay in farming and believed that at least some of them would. Again, they felt it was up to the parents to see that the next generation received the help it needed in order to become established in farming and to continue the family tradition on the land.

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[6] Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., New York, 1942, p. 217.

Commission Survey of Family Relationships

In the summer of 1953, representatives of the Commission interviewed 160 farm wives in four areas of the province with distinct trends in population — one area of extreme depopulation, one area of moderate depopulation, one area of stable population, and one area of increased population.[7] Using a questionnaire to guide the interview and ensure systematic recording, the interviewers posed questions designed to elicit information on the following aspects of family relationships — family integration or shared activities, family division of labour along age and sex lines, father-centered decision making, income allocation, kinship contacts, and family continuity in farming.[8]

When the results of the interviews were tabulated, an index score was computed for each aspect of family relationships studied.[9] Scores for each aspect could range from 0 to 100. The high scores indicated that families showed behaviour and values that were dominated by family, rather than individual, interests and that these families resembled the family of an earlier day in this respect. The low scores indicated that the dominance of the family was weak and that these families differed from the family of the past in this respect. Table 16 shows the average scores for all 160 families for each aspect studied.

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[7] See Appendix III for description of sample and methods used for study and Appendix IV for characteristics of the 160 families in the field study.

[8] See Appendix V for reproduction of questionnaire.

[9] For instance, with respect to family integration, seven questions reflecting shared activities by the family were asked. Assuming that affirmative answers to these questions were accurate indicators of family integration, one could then proceed to construct a crude "index of family integration." The index is crude because, until further work is done, it is not known whether these questions are the best possible indicators of integration. The index has to be considered tentative until its validity is more firmly established. Using a base of seven questions, a family's score on this index would be obtained by dividing the number of observed points by the base. For example, if the whole family always goes into town as a group (question No. 1), but when it gets to town, "everybody goes his separate way" (No. 2), and the only other type of activity it does as a family group is radio listening (No. 3), also they do "nothing out of the ordinary" to celebrate Christmas and they do not celebrate other holidays except that "the boys go into town for Sports Day" (Nos. 4 and 5), and they do have a birthday cake and a little party for the smaller children but never celebrate adults' birthdays (Nos. 6 and 7), then the scoring is 2 out of 7, or an index score of 29 on this particular aspect of family relationships. Similar crude indexes were constructed for other aspects of family relationships which were felt to be measurable.

TABLE 16. MEAN AVERAGE SCORES, ASPECTS OF FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Aspect of Family Relationships	Average Scores
Family integration	67.7
Family labour	45.1
Father-centred decision making	38.6
Father-determined income allocation	50.4
Close kinship contacts	44.9
Family continuity in farming	60.3

SOURCE: Field Survey, Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life, 1953.

The index scores confirmed the expectation that actual rural families range in their behaviour and values from those least like the presumed early family type to those most like it, as regards each of the six aspects of family relationships for which the index scores were constructed. The ordering of the families is the most useful thing each index does, not the numerical measure it gives of each aspect studied. Thus, one should make comparisons of scores among these aspects with considerable care. With this warning in mind, it is nevertheless of interest to note the ranges of individual index scores. For five out of six indexes, one finds scores as low as 0, and for four out of the six, scores as high as 100.

The index scores for each aspect of family relationships studied were then related to several basic social and economic conditions which differentiate families in rural Saskatchewan. Those considered were the population trend in the family's area of residence, type of farm, size of farm, income level, stage of family life cycle, language spoken — whether English of not, and distance from town. Average scores for each aspect of family relationships were first related to the four population-trend areas that provided the original basis for the sampling. These four areas of extreme depopulation, moderate depopulation, stable population, and increased population are areas that have a long history of population change in a consistent direction, whether increasing or decreasing. In other words, these were not areas that were characterized by unorderly change, increasing one year, next decreasing, then increasing again. The six other factors must always be considered against this population-trend background.

Family Integration

Family integration involves a "wholeness" of family activity and thinking, a feeling of belonging or solidarity among family members. It implies relative agreement about family procedures. It means that family members know how to coordinate their activities, so that they work and play together harmoniously. The concept includes the idea that there is a consistency among the activities, beliefs, and attitudes of the family; they are all cut from the same cloth. Out of such interdependency comes a family unity which is psychological as well as functional. The concept of family integration has importance for any family, but it is especially important for the farm family because the farm is typically operated as a family enterprise. Integration, however, involves more than division of labour. It also has importance for non-economic family relationships and personality development.[10]

Unfortunately, family integration is almost as difficult to measure as it is important. The extent of activities shared by the family was thought to reflect the degree of family integration, and certain questions were asked in the interviews to reveal the extent of shared activities. Are there many activities that the family does more or less as a group? Does the whole family go into town as a group? When it gets to town, does it stay together as a group? Is there considerable pride in observing Christmas and other holidays as family events? Is there a special family celebration of children's and adults' birthdays? Table 17 presents the items used to attempt the measurement of family integration and the number responding positively to each item.[11]

As judged by this index, the well integrated families are the families that are accustomed to doing things together, everything from religious worship to picking berries. They are the families that take advantage of birthdays, holidays, and other occasions to interact as a family. From inspection of Table 17, it is apparent that some behaviours, such as family observance of Christmas, are almost universal among the 160 families. For family integration, the average score for all 160 families was 67.7 (Table 16), three families scoring as low as 14 and 16 families scoring as high as 100.

There are, of course, subtle social-psychological aspects involved in the concept of integration, but they would be difficult to verify in a short interview. Futhermore, it is believed they would be highly correlated with participation in common activities.[12] As has been stated, "Family integration is the process by which interdependence is achieved through the sharing of memories and experiences."[13]

Differences in scores on family integration may be partly explained by their relation to some of the basic social and economic conditions which differentiate families in rural Saskatchewan. Table 18 shows

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[10] For this study it was assumed that strong family integration was characteristic of the pioneer family. There are, however, alternative ways of achieving this integration. One might be the old-time patriarchal way, with rigorous discipline and subordination to the head of the household. Or high integration might be achieved through the more democratic relationships among family members that have become more common today. (On this point, see E. W. Burgess and H. J. Locke, *The Family, From Institution to Companionship*, American Book Co., New York, 1945, p. 333.) Hence, a high score on this index does not tell us anything about the methods, whether democratic or autocratic, that are used in bringing about shared activities.

[11] The validity and reliability of the questions asked to determine the extent of family integration are discussed in Appendix VI.

[12] Supporting evidence for this statement is found in a study of New York State families. A high positive correlation was found between an index of shared activities and the observer's own rating of each family as to its degree of integration. H. W. Beers, *Measurements of Family Relationships in Farm Families of Central New York*, Memoir 183, Agricultural Experiment Station, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., 1935.

[13] Burgess and Locke, *op. cit.*, p. 441.

TABLE 17. ITEM ANALYSIS OF INDEX OF FAMILY INTEGRATION[*]

Item	Number in Sample Responding Positively to Question
Whole family goes into town as a group	129
Stays together as a group when it gets to town	58
Family volunteers information on two or more types of acitvity it does as a group[†]	109
Wife indicates pride in observation of Christmas as a special *family* event	154
Other holidays also celebrated as *family* events	93
Special celebration for birthdays of children[‡]	120
Special celebrations for birthdays of adults	65
Number in sample	160

[*] Table 1 in Appendix VII gives the statistical significance of the items used to construct the index of family integration.

[†] Or makes the claim, "We do *everything* as a family group."

[‡] "Special celebration" means there is a cake baked, or a party, or some other family way of especially marking the event.

differences in average scores for family integration related to these social and economic factors. Scores for family integration were most clearly related to population-trend area, type of farm, and stage of the family life cycle. No significant relationship could be shown, however, between the degree of family integration and such factors as size of farm, income, ethnic background (as roughly indicated by language), or distance from town. While these factors may very well be important for family integration, this single sample failed to demonstrate that they were.[14]

The 40 families from the moderately depopulated areas have a score on the index of integration which averages about 7 to 12 points lower than for the other groups. How can such a difference be explained? Perhaps families in the moderately depopulated areas reflect a relatively greater state of social disruption in their communities as compared with families in the other areas; they may still be in the difficult process of adjustment. Even in the areas of extreme depopulation, family integration is greater, perhaps because the remaining families there have already made their adjustment to environmental conditions. Another possible explanation is that the less well integrated families were the ones that had to leave the extremely depopulated areas.

When the 160 families in the sample are classified as to their type of farming, a consistent relationship is found between this factor and their scores for family integration. The families on straight grain and grain specialty farms score

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[14] Statistical cautions that have to be observed are discussed in Appendix VII.

TABLE 18. DIFFERENCES AMONG MEAN SCORES FOR INDEX OF FAMILY INTEGRATION*

Classification	Number of Respondents	Average Scores
Population-Trend Areas		
Extreme depopulation	40	72.2
Moderate depopulation	40	60.6
Stable population	40	70.5
Increased population	40	67.3
Type of Farm Index		
Livestock specialty	33	61.8
Mixed farming	54	65.2
Grain specialty	35	73.6
Straight grain	19	74.5
No information	19	72.4
Size of Farm		
One quarter	16	67.1
Two quarters	44	66.8
Three quarters	22	67.9
Four quarters	34	69.2
Five and six quarters	32	70.6
More than six quarters	12	60.6
Index of Income		
"Development" farm	25	56.4
Low income	24	64.1
Medium income	32	70.8
Medium-plus income	40	71.7
High income	12	68.9
High-plus income	8	71.8
No information	19	72.4
Stage of Family Life Cycle		
Child-bearing stage	41	71
Child-rearing stage	88	70.1
Older child stage	27	73.6
No information	4	—
Language Differential		
English	84	66.8
Non-English	67	67.6
No information	9	—
Distance from Town		
0-5 miles	53	66.4
6-10 miles	52	69.3
Over 10 miles	55	67.6

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* The statistical significance of these social and economic conditions as related to the index of family integration is presented in Table 7 of Appendix VII.

highest on this index, followed by families in mixed farming, and lowest, those who specialize in livestock production.[16] This finding may run contrary to expectation, for some writers assume that the family in a mixed farming enterprise is the most integrated and displays the greatest sharing of activities. But perhaps the items that make up the index of family integration explain this finding (Table 17). The items in this index concern activities in which the family members participate as a group. Some family group activities, particularly those of a recreational nature which take place away from the farm, are more feasible in a grain farming operation. If there is livestock, recreation has to be planned to take into account the necessity for someone to be at home in order to feed the stock and milk the cows. Nevertheless, probably the majority of items in the index should be just as possible to achieve on a livestock or mixed farm as on any other type of farm. The conclusion is that there appears to be a real difference in family integration for different types of farming, and for this aspect at least the grain farmers have the highest scores.

The stage of the family life cycle has the expected effect upon family integration. The difference between the child-bearing and the child-rearing stages is not significant, but the change that comes with the older child stage is unmistakable. The average score for this group is about 15 points lower than for the other two stages. When a majority of the children are in the teen ages, the family no longer does so many things together as a group. This finding is no surprise, of course, but it is useful as a kind of check on the validity of the index, in view of the possibly unexpected results that appeared in the other classifications.

Family Labour

In Saskatchewan farm families the work of the farm is usually accomplished through some division of labour among the various family members. There are, however, differences in details. In some families, the father is a foreman, directing the field work, deciding when to plant or harvest, and assigning tasks to other members of the family. In others, the division of labour is less clear-cut, or there may be less participation in the work of the farm by family members.

The significance of the labour aspect for family living should be obvious. It is more than a contribution to income; it is another aspect of family integration. The fact that family members have definite, recurrent duties in operating the farm "does tend to knit the family together more closely with a greater sphere of common interests than most urban families have."[17] When the result is to give the individual a sense of belonging to his family group, it may be a psychological advantage; in other cases, the very closeness of association leads to frictions which the individual cannot easily escape.

Table 19 shows the items that were used to construct the index of family labour and the number of families responding positively to each item.[32] The average score for the 160 families for family labour was 45.1, with 34 families as low as 0 and 19 families scoring 100. Thus, this group of families no longer adhered strictly to the pattern of division of family labour along age and sex lines that was characteristic of farm families in the past.

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[16] Taylor has also noted the strong family integrations and clear-cut division of labour characteristic of farm families in the wheat areas of the United States. Carl C. Taylor, *et al.*, *Rural Life in the United States*, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1949, p. 196.

[17] Margaret Jarman Hagood, "The Farm Home and Family," in Carl C. Taylor, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

When the scores for family labour were related to the basic social and economic conditions of the families studied, significant differences in scores emerged for type of farm and stage of family life cycle, although not for the other factors (Table 20). Apparently, the division of labour which puts the children to work around the farm at an early age and which defines quite exactly what is considered "woman's work" and "girl's work" is more characteristic of the straight grain than of the other types of farms. One sociologist has expressed the opinion that under conditions of mechanized farming, such as characterize the straight grain farms, it is possible that many more women will participate in the actual field work.[33] But this opinion is not substantiated by the Commission's findings.

The relation of family labour to the family life cycle is of interest. Families in the older child stage had average scores more than 17 points lower than families in the child-bearing stage. As the children become older, apparently the wife is more likely to do outside work.

TABLE 19. ITEM ANALYSIS OF INDEX OF FAMILY LABOUR*

Item	Number in Sample Responding Positively to Question
Wife does no outside work except for gardening	33
Children help around farm at an early age†	73
Boys do only "boy's work" (unless no girls)‡	58
Girls do only "girl's work" (unless no boys)**	51
Number in sample	160

* Table 2 in Appendix VII gives the statistical significance of the items used to construct the index of family labour.

† "Early age" is defined as 8 years or younger.

‡ "Boy's work" includes all outside work except gardening and gathering of eggs and includes feeding all livestock and fowl.

** "Girl's work" includes all inside work, but not carrying of wood, water, ashes, etc. It also includes work in the garden and work with the poultry, feeding as well as gathering eggs. (Feeding poultry was considered as either boy's or girl's work, on the basis that the boy might feed the chickens at the time he feeds livestock.)

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[32] One item (boys doing only "boy's work") apparently contributes nothing to the index. This limits the index to three items, and the index may not be entirely valid. It would be well to do further work on an index of family labour, including more items and checking on such matters as who keeps the farm business records.

[33] Nelson, op. cit., p. 266.

TABLE 20. DIFFERENCES AMONG MEAN SCORES FOR INDEX OF FAMILY LABOUR*

Classification	Number of Respondents	Average Scores
Population-Trend Areas		
Extreme depopulation	40	48.6
Moderate depopulation	40	39.8
Stable population	40	45.8
Increased population	40	46.0
Type of Farm Index		
Livestock specialty	53	34.6
Mixed farming	34	48.0
Grain specialty	35	44.3
Straight grain	19	58.8
No information	19	53.4
Size of Farm		
One quarter	16	43.3
Two quarters	44	41.3
Three quarters	22	51.9
Four quarters	34	43.9
Five and six quarters	32	41.9
More than six quarters	12	52.8
Index of Income		
"Development" farms	25	34.7
Low income	24	35.1
Medium income	32	46.1
Medium-plus income	40	48.5
High income	12	41.0
High-plus income	8	64.6
No information	19	53.4
Stage of Family Life Cycle		
Child-bearing stage	41	52.8
Child-rearing stage	88	44.0
Older child stage	27	35.3
No information	4	—
Language		
English	84	48.1
Non-English	67	38.9
No information	9	—
Distance from Town		
0-5 miles	53	47.0
6-10 miles	52	41.7
Over 10 miles	55	44.7

* The statistical significance of these social and economic conditions as related to the index of family labour is presented in Table 8 of Appendix VII.

This may seem inconsistent unless it is explained in terms of the children's increasing school and social activities in their teens and hence lesser availability for work, throwing the load more on the parent. Girls are also not so confined to only "girl's work" in the older child stage. Perhaps the older girl joins her parents in the fields or barn and develops a preference for working with machinery and herds. This point would require more study.

Father-Centered Decision Making

Decision making centered in the father has importance for the nature of family labour assignments, for income allocation, for training of the children, and probably for the material level of living of the family. In fact, it is one of the most basic of the family factors that can be identified. It certainly affects the kind of family integration achieved; it has been claimed that integration achieved by rigorous discipline and subordination to the head of the family is more rigid and less adaptable than the dynamic integration achieved by more democratic means.[19] One of the long-run trends reflected in the more urbanized family type is the decline of male dominance. Research evidence indicates that control by the father, however, is still more characteristic of rural than of urban families.[20]

The data presented in Table 21 suggest that most families in the sample fall far short of the strong dominance by the father assumed to

TABLE 21. ITEM ANALYSIS OF INDEX OF FATHER-CENTERED DECISION MAKING*

Item	Number in Sample Responding Positively to Question
Husband is most influential family member for:†	
Deciding what crops to plant, when, and where	135
Deciding to buy machinery	100
Deciding to buy appliances for the house	12
Deciding to borrow money	70
Deciding what is to be given to church or charity	22
Giving children permission to go somewhere	18
Punishment of the children	8
Giving children their spending money	44
Wife is most influential family member for:	
Deciding to do redecorating in the house	98
Seeing that the children study their lessons	81
Number in sample	160

* Table 3 in Appendix VII gives the statistical significance of items used to construct the index of father-centered decision making.
† "Most influential" means that in a check of the respective roles of husband, wife, and children in various decisions, the individual indicated definitely emerged as the most influential person for a given type of decision. The item was not counted when it was a joint decision or if, for any reason, it was impossible to tell which individual carried the greatest weight.

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[19] Burgess and Locke, *op. cit.*, p. 355.
[20] Cited by Dwight Sanderson, *op. cit.*, p. 217.

be true for the family of an earlier day. For only two kinds of decisions was the father indisputably the most influential family member in the majority of families — deciding about the planting of crops and deciding to buy machinery. In financial affairs generally, such as deciding to borrow money or even giving children their spending money, the father tends to be highly influential. In matters like punishment of the children, however, he is apparently more than willing to take a less prominent part, or so, at least, it was reported by the wives who furnished these data.

Although the items used to construct the index of decision making included the spheres in which the wife, even under the traditional pattern, was the more influential partner, scores on the total index ran low. The average score for all 160 families was 38.6 (Table 16), with three families at 0 and the highest family registering 80. For many types of decisions it is apparent that responsibility is shared by husband, wife, and even children. Far from regarding the wife and other family members as subordinates, many of the farmers in the sample treat them as partners.

The relation of the index of father-centered decision making to the social and economic conditions of the family also may occasion some surprise (Table 22). No significant differences among groups were indicated. There is no evidence here that decisions are more father-centered in certain types of farming, or on smaller farms, or among sub-samples in any of the classifications. At least, if there are such differences, this index is too crude or the samples are too small to reveal them.

Income Allocation

Since the farm household is an economic unit, with division of labour among adult partners and children, the question of income allocation takes on significance. Ordinarily all members of the family contribute to the work of the farm, but the way in which they share in the proceeds varies. The preceding section shows that many fathers retain their traditional dominance in the sphere of financial affairs. The man's air of authority while doling out the wife's allowance is a patriarchal survival. "I hate to spend *his* money," says the farm woman; 84 out of 160 wives in this study regarded the husband as "the" income earner on the farm (Table 23).

While this view might be regarded by some readers as curious, there is apparently no conscious demand for a change. The practice of control of income allocation by the father is regarded either as right or as unavoidable. Since yearly income is unpredictable and usually comes at one time, after the harvest, how would it be practicable to pay wages to the children or to budget a regular allowance to the wife for household expenses? Such seems to be the view.[21]

Sociologists have shown that in many families the wife is the purchasing agent for the bulk of the goods consumed by the family. "The husband and children will spend some of the family income, but the large part of the individual purchases will be made by her."[22] This

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[21] In this connection, see the attitudes reported by the women in the Homemaker study, Chapter VI.

[22] Sutherland, Woodward, and Maxwell, *op. cit.*, p. 454.

TABLE 22. DIFFERENCES AMONG MEAN SCORES FOR INDEX OF FATHER-CENTERED DECISION MAKING*

Classification	Number of Respondents	Average Scores
Population-Trend Areas		
Extreme depopulation	39	42.4
Moderate depopulation	40	37.7
Stable population	40	35.7
Increased population	39	38.4
No information	2	—
Type of Farm Index		
Livestock specialty	52	39.2
Mixed farming	33	39.0
Grain specialty	35	37.3
Straight grain	19	36.2
No information	21	40.4
Size of Farm		
One quarter	15	37.5
Two quarters	44	36.1
Three quarters	22	39.4
Four quarters	33	38.7
Five and six quarters	32	39.9
More than six quarters	12	43.3
No information	2	—
Index of Income		
"Development" farms	24	37.0
Low income	24	37.4
Medium income	32	39.3
Medium-plus income	39	37.8
High income	12	39.2
High-plus income	8	40.6
No information	21	40.4
Stage of Family Life Cycle		
Child-bearing stage	41	35.5
Child-rearing stage	88	39.0
Older child stage	27	40.4
No information	4	—
Language		
English	82	37.6
Non-English	67	39.5
No information	11	—
Distance from Town		
0-5 miles	52	40.5
6-10 miles	51	35.6
Over 10 miles	55	39.4
No information	2	—

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* The statistical significance of these social and economic conditions as related to the index of father-centered decision making is presented in Table 9 of Appendix VII.

TABLE 23. ITEM ANALYSIS OF INDEX OF INCOME ALLOCATION*

Item	Number in Sample Responding Positively to Question
Husband (or husband and son) regarded as "the" income earner on the farm†	84
Husband or son pays most of bills for family	89
Wife does *not* get a part of the farm income to spend‡	49
Children do not receive a *regular* amount of money**	105
Children do not have property of their own	111
Number in sample	160

* Table 4 in Appendix VII gives the statistical significance of the items used to construct the index of income allocation.

† Rather than "both parents" or the "whole family as a unit".

‡ That is, the wife does not get a regular, dependable amount that she can budget for household and personal expenditures.

** That is, the children do not receive either a regular allowance or a specific wage tied to the performance of particular tasks. Money received, if any, is irregular in amount and/or time of receipt.

finding is not supported by at least one item in the present study showing that the husband or son pays most of the bills for the family (Table 23).

Inspection of Table 23 also confirms the substantial source of unpaid labour represented by the children. In very few of the families do they receive a regular allowance or wage, and they are even less likely to own an animal or have other property of their own. It should not be inferred from these statements that income is necessarily allocated inequitably in the long run. While there is still much of the traditional pattern of unpaid labour, in many cases the father plans to assume the responsibility of later establishing the children economically.[23] Perhaps he helps the newly married son or the son-in-law to buy a farm, or he provides livestock or the use of machinery. This is a way in which the children eventually share in the income earned during the years of growing up and helping on the farm.

For the index of income allocation, the average score for all families was 50.4 (Table 16), with nine families at 0. Ten families with scores of 100 showed exactly the theoretical early family pattern for income allocation.

The index of income allocation also revealed no significant relationship to any of the conditions of population trend, type of farm, size of farm, income, stage of the family life cycle, ethnic background (as indicated by language), or distance from town (Table 24).

Kinship Contacts

The importance, frequency, and closeness of contacts with relatives outside the immediate family throw light on patterns of family living.

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[23] See the discussion of family continuity in farming below.

TABLE 24. DIFFERENCES AMONG MEAN SCORES FOR INDEX OF INCOME ALLOCATION*

Classification	Number of Respondents	Average Scores
Population-Trend Areas		
Extreme depopulation	40	53.3
Moderate depopulation	40	52.6
Stable population	40	49.1
Increased population	40	46.5
Type of Farm Index		
Livestock specialty	53	47.1
Mixed farming	34	51.5
Grain specialty	35	52.0
Straight grain	19	47.1
No information	19	62.1
Size of Farm		
One quarter	16	54.6
Two quarters	44	49.6
Three quarters	22	54.8
Four quarters	34	52.3
Five and six quarters	32	43.2
More than six quarters	12	53.1
Index of Income		
"Development" farms	25	55.3
Low income	24	47.8
Medium income	32	49.7
Medium-plus income	40	50.1
High income	12	38.0
High-plus income	8	47.8
No information	19	62.1
Stage of Family Life Cycle		
Child-bearing stage	41	52.9
Child-rearing stage	88	49.3
Older child stage	27	47.6
No information	4	—
Language		
English	84	48.2
Non-English	67	52.5
No information	9	—
Distance from Town		
0-5 miles	53	55.9
6-10 miles	52	47.6
Over 10 miles	55	47.7

* The statistical significance of these social and economic conditions as related to the index of income allocation is presented in Table 10 of Appendix VII.

Seven items were considered useful in constructing an index of kinship contacts — location of relatives within ten miles, frequency of visits with relatives, frequency of visits with non-relatives, exchange of equipment or help with relatives, willingness to call on relatives for help, aid to older relatives not on the farm, relatives living in the farm household (Table 25). For the index of kinship contacts, the

TABLE 25. ITEM ANALYSIS OF INDEX OF KINSHIP CONTACTS*

Item	Number in Sample Responding Positively to Question
Has relatives located less than 10 miles away	127
Visits with relatives at least weekly, or oftener	91
Visits more with relatives than with non-relatives	81
Exchanges equipment or help more often with relatives than with non-relatives	31
If in trouble, wife would rather ask relative than friend to help her out	95
Helps out older relatives not living on the farm	26
Relatives are living in respondent's household	13
Number in Sample	160

* Table 5 in Appendix VII gives the statistical significance of the items used to construct the index of kinship contacts.

average score of the total sample was 44.9 (Table 16), with scores ranging from 0 for 8 families to 86 for 5 families.

Most of the families, it will be noted, had relatives living within ten miles and visited them weekly, if not more often. The tendency was to visit relatives more than non-relatives. If the family was in trouble, the farm wife in general preferred to ask a relative than a non-related friend for help. There was a deviation from the close family ties typical of the earlier family in two items. Only 26 of the 160 families helped older relatives not living on the farm with the family. Only 13 of the 160 families had relatives living in the household. These results are probably a reflection of the development in modern times of old age pensions and other programs of public assistance.

The evidence suggests that family contacts are very important in rural Saskatchewan, judging by this sample. The important exception is in the change in caring for aged relatives. The "extended" household is beginning to vanish; it is more typical for the household to be confined to the immediate family unit of father, mother, and children. Geographic dispersal of relatives, however, has not proceeded so far as might have been predicted; there are still some relatives nearby, and they are regarded as the most important source of help in times of trouble. It may be true that the more distant cousins and in-laws have been eliminated from the ranks of those to whom special obligations are due; this point was not tested in the study. Still, there is really little evidence from this sample supporting the modern view that "the trend is to treat one's relatives as one would treat anyone else — in terms of one's own reactions to their personalities rather than in response to the status they occupy."[24]

Table 26 reveals no significant relationship between index scores for kinship contacts of the sample families and the various social and economic conditions of population trend, type of farm, size of farm, income, stage of the family life cycle, ethnic background (as indicated by language), or distance from town. Apparently, kinship contacts are so all pervasive that differences in these conditions affect them little. Relatives are almost equally important everywhere and at all levels.

Family Continuity in Farming

Somehow a baby who could grow up to be a tinker, tailor, or some other kind of urban worker grows up to be a Saskatchewan farmer much like his father. Just how does the family accomplish this? How is the institution of the farm family maintained over the years? The answer is partly in terms of the learning which takes place in the family circle and partly in terms of the capital resources of the family.

Most Saskatchewan farmers have been born on farms themselves. Research has shown that a larger percentage of sons in farm families elect to follow the same kind of work as their father than is true for any other occupation.[25] Why do they stay in farming? Apparently because many families do a fairly effective job of implanting attitudes which are favourably disposed to farming. Some children learn to dislike it, of course, and they tend to move to other work; others migrate, however, only because they cannot obtain financial help to get started. They would prefer to stay in farming if they could.[26]

Five questions were included in the field interview to be used as items for the index of family continuity in farming (Table 27). One item proved not to be useful — whether or not the wife felt that the parents should help the children to get started in farming. Since nearly all the respondents felt that way, this item did not reveal variations in the aspect of family continuity. For the index of family continuity in farming, the average score was 60.3 (Table 16), 6 families scoring 0 and 15 families 100.

Certainly, much of the character of the earlier family pattern was related to the ownership of land. Continuity of the family in farming was one of the family's chief social aims, and it continues to be for the majority of families in the present study. By the time the children are grown, if not before, the family that owns its farm must face the problem of working out some arrangement regarding succession. Out of 160 farm wives, 81 wanted their own children to stay on the land, and almost as many believed that at least some of the children would stay. The majority of adults received help from their parents to get started, and virtually all of them felt they should do the same for their own children. It has been said that the "family property system is

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[24] John W. Bennett and Melvin M. Tumin, *Social Life,* Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York, 1948, p. 557.

[25] For research evidence on this point, see Ruth S. Cavan, *The American Family,* The Thomas Y. Crowell Co., New York., 1953, p. 43.

[26] See the Commission's reports on Agricultural Credit and Movement of Farm People.

TABLE 26. DIFFERENCES AMONG MEAN SCORES FOR INDEX OF KINSHIP CONTACTS*

Classification	Number of Respondents	Average Scores
Population-Trend Areas		
Extreme depopulation	40	46.0
Moderate depopulation	40	41.7
Stable population	40	41.3
Increased population	40	50.5
Type of Farm Index		
Livestock specialty	53	44.6
Mixed farming	34	45.6
Grain specialty	35	45.6
Straight grain	19	39.6
No information	19	47.2
Size of Farm		
One quarter	16	57.3
Two quarters	44	42.0
Three quarters	22	42.2
Four quarters	34	44.5
Five and six quarters	32	47.8
More than six quarters	12	56.6
Index of Income		
"Development" farms	25	47.6
Low income	24	39.9
Medium income	32	43.8
Medium-plus income	40	43.3
High income	12	53.4
High-plus income	8	42.9
No information	19	47.2
Stage of Family Life Cycle		
Child-bearing stage	41	48.5
Child-rearing stage	88	42.8
Older child stage	27	45.4
No information	4	—
Language		
English	84	46.1
Non-English	67	42.7
No information	9	—
Distance from Town		
0-5 miles	53	47.8
6-10 miles	52	44.4
Over 10 miles	55	42.6

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* The statistical significance of these social and economic conditions as related to the index of kinship contacts is presented in Table 11 of Appendix VII.

TABLE 27. ITEM ANALYSIS OF INDEX OF FAMILY CONTINUITY*

Item	Number in Sample Responding Positively to Question
Received parental help to get started in farming	95
Didn't receive favoured treatment among children to get started in farming†	58
Wants own children to stay in farming	81
Believes some of children *will* stay in farming	71
Feels parent should help children to get started‡	117
Number in Sample	160

* Table 6 in Appendix VII gives the statistical significance of the items used to construct the index of family continuity.

† Rather than getting more help specifically because the farmer was the oldest, youngest, or for some other special reason. The reasoning is that in the old family pattern, all children who want to go into farming are treated *similarly* by the parents.

‡ In some cases, the respondent indicated another type of help as well (e.g., governmental help); however, the item was counted if they indicated at all that parents should help the children to get started.

changing and dissolving."[37] For example, parents no longer invariably pass on property to children. But this generalization obviously applies to the more urbanized family type; in this respect, the rural Saskatchewan families in the sample do not plan to cut loose from the older pattern.

Family continuity on the land was the only characteristic studied in this sample in which level of income appeared to be a related factor.[38] The higher the income group, the higher was the average score on the family continuity index, up to the next-to-the-highest income group (Table 28). The difference between the high income group and all the other groups was significant; the high income group was from 15 to 27 points higher on the family continuity index. The traditional pattern in which the couple receive parental help, want their own children to stay in farming, and believe that some of them will, thus appears to be most associated with relative prosperity. Farm families which cannot afford to establish their children in farming must face the prospect of their children's leaving the farm.

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[37] Willard Waller (revised by Reuben Hill), *The Family: A Dynamic Interpretation*, Dryden Press, New York, 1950.

[38] Income for each family was measured by a Commission index which combined information about the livestock and crop structure of each farm with what was known about its soil productivity and net dollar yield per cultivated acre and per livestock unit. Farms were classified into "development" farms with very low income, farms with low income, farms with medium income, farms with medium plus income, farms with high income, and farms with very high income.

TABLE 28. DIFFERENCES AMONG MEAN SCORES FOR INDEX OF FAMILY CONTINUITY*

Classification	Number of Respondents	Average Scores
Population-Trend Areas		
Extreme depopulation	40	57.8
Moderate depopulation	40	60.2
Stable population	40	61.7
Increased population	40	61.6
Type of Farm Index		
Livestock specialty	53	56.3
Mixed farming	34	60.0
Grain specialty	35	59.9
Straight grain	19	68.8
No information	19	65.0
Size of Farm		
One quarter	16	55.6
Two quarters	44	59.1
Three quarters	22	56.4
Four quarters	34	63.2
Five and six quarters	32	65.7
More than six quarters	12	55.4
Index of Income		
"Development" farms	25	53.4
Low income	24	54.6
Medium income	32	59.6
Medium-plus income	40	59.6
High income	12	80.4
High-plus income	8	64.7
No information	19	65.0
Stage of Family Life Cycle		
Child-bearing stage	41	61.8
Child-rearing stage	88	60.3
Older child stage	27	57.4
No information	4	—
Language		
English	84	62.2
Non-English	67	57.5
No information	9	—
Distance from Town		
0-5 miles	53	65.0
6-10 miles	52	60.9
Over 10 miles	55	55.3

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* The statistical significance of these social and economic conditions as related to the index of family continuity in farming is presented in Table 12 of Appendix VII.

But no relationship could be shown between scores on family continuity in farming and such factors as population-trend area, type of farm, size of farm, stage of the family life cycle, ethnic background (as indicated by language), or distance from town. Except for the income groups, average scores on the index ran about the same in all classifications.

The Emerging Farm Family

The average scores and ranges of scores for the various family characteristics, as measured by these indexes, certainly show that the traditional picture of the rural family as it existed in the past is not exactly reproduced in every aspect by very many actual families today. But neither has a completely contrasting situation come to prevail. Some families virtually match the pioneer picture, a few deviate greatly from this pattern, but the majority represent a mixture of traditional and changed patterns of behaviour, with wide variation in the detailed characteristics.

Probably a new family pattern is emerging in modern rural Saskatchewan, if we can assume that our townships of consistent population change are typical of the province as a whole. This new pattern is one in which duties and family customs are much less fixed, with fewer rigid rules or ideas on what is to be decided by whom and with more emphasis upon developing congenial friendships than upon keeping in contact with the relatives, although relatives are still very important. At the same time, especially for younger families and for the grain farming families, there is renewed emphasis upon a clear-cut division of labour and upon family integration, although perhaps achieved more democratically than in the past. Especially for the more prosperous families, there is a continuing interest and belief that the next generation will become established on the land just as the present one was — with family help.

In some of the aspects of family living, then, dependent upon such factors as type of farming, income, and stage of family life cycle, there was not so great a change from the earlier farm family as one might have expected. Because farming practices yield to scientific thinking and values, as in mechanization, does not mean that the more sacred institution of the family will yield as quickly or to the same extent. In this study a family might have had extremely low index scores on father-centered decision making or income allocation, for example; yet this same family might have had high scores on family integration and continuity.

Still, it is the Commission's view, based upon its studies and observation, that on the whole, whether one approves or not, the old type of family is gradually disappearing from Saskatchewan farms. The readjustment of families lagged behind the appearance of machinery, modern communication and transportation, but since World War II public consciousness of the changes in our social institutions has increased.

The emerging farm family is moving in the direction of a more urbanized mode of life. The mental isolation that helped to maintain the earlier type of family is broken down as the physical isolation is broken down. The city becomes more accessible through automobiles and buses. As instruments of communication like the radio, television, newspapers, and magazines become more prevalent in rural areas, urban ideas enter the farm home, for the content of these media is prepared in a city. The improving economic status and educational level of farm people ensure that urban ideas will not be ignored.

Of course, there are sometimes counteracting factors such as cultoral traditions of particular ethnic groups, which are unfavorable to the acceptance of urban patterns. Nevertheless, the social climate on the whole no longer makes family interests so paramount as in the past.

It may well be asked what kind of family might result if the urban trend in farm areas were carried to its extreme. Certain characteristics of this contrasting family type can be spelled out. Instead of an integration of functions and roles within the family, individual roles and functions tend to become segmented. Instead of a family closely interrelated with its occupation on the land, individual members go off to a variety of jobs. There is no longer much family interaction in groups of three or more family members co-operating in a task.[29] Comparatively less time is given to family festivities — reunions, marriages, anniversaries, and the like. Commercial recreation tends to split up the family into age groups, each going its own way.

In this more urbanized family type, family objectives are less predominant. Some of the family functions atrophy as other agencies in the towns and city begin to fill needs ranging from recreation to worship. As a moulder of individual personalities, the newer type of family tends to share this influence more and more with other social institutions. During the school term children ride buses and are absent more hours a day, leaving less time for contact with parents. The family becomes as much a consumption unit as a production unit. No longer is it likely to produce virtually all its own food and fuel requirements.

In this contrasting family type, it becomes unusual for grandparents or aged relatives to live in the same household or for hired help to live with, and to be treated as, members of the family. Contact with kinfolk is less frequent. Responsibility of family members and relatives towards one another is decreased and sometimes is honoured in the breach. Instead of married children becoming established on farms of their own nearby, the children may be scattered over a continent.

Rather than the lion's share of farm labour being supplied by unpaid family workers, work may have to be paid for on a money-wage or contract basis. The father himself may do some custom work for other farmers, and the wife also is not so closely tied down to the farm, but participates in a greater number of off-farm activities. The pattern of father-centered decision making becomes more democratic. There is less control over the activities of individual family members. A significant decision often is to leave the isolated farm house entirely and move into a town or city, making the family urbanized in residence as well as in behaviour.

The kind of family just described is, of course, recognizably different from the farm family of the past. The picture sketched is only a rough generalization or what the social scientist calls a "constructed" type, a theoretical concept. To know the details and variations in modern rural family organization and relationships requires further research. The Commission's study is only a beginning. It cannot be stressed too strongly that in gathering field data to check the emerging characteristics of the farm family, the Commission was limited by time and cost considerations to one small sample. This sample, while random within its restrictions, was limited to areas of consistent population change and to families with at least one child at home between the ages of 6 and 18. These could be possible sources of bias. Therefore, anyone using the results of this study should resist the temptation to generalize too much. Proper inference can be made only for the population from which the sample was drawn. No doubt in years to come, as more interest in these family relationships develops, they will be restudied with larger, more adequate samples and with improvements in research technique, which will give a more reliable account of the developing situation. The present study should serve as a source of working hypotheses for future research into the family in rural Saskatchewan.

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[29] See Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Social Systems*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1950, pp. 41-42.

The emergence of a new type of rural family does not mean that the family becomes less important. It is an important development, for example, that areas of decision are increasingly shared with the children, who thus may view parents as guides and advisers rather than patriarchs, even if benevolent patriarchs, who make all the decisions and whose wishes must never be challenged. The result of the changes may mean more gain than loss, for there is every probability that a new basis for family solidarity will be created in the better provision for the emotional needs of its members.[30]

But in the course of changes in family relationships new problems are created that are difficult for the family alone to solve. The family may lack the necessary resources and knowledge to meet the problems created by a changing environment. Aid from trained personnel familiar with the resources of the community might ease the transition period for many families.

The old family values made sense in the social and economic scene of the past, when most people lived in families guided by these values — as they were for thousands of years. In the present era, while new family values emerge that are more in harmony with changing conditions, much patient study and understanding are needed.[31]

Summary

Changes in Size and Characteristics of Farm Families

The average size of the farm family in Saskatchewan decreased from 1921 to 1951. A greater proportion of the total population is married today than in the past, and people are marrying at younger ages than in the past. Despite the many new households being formed and the lower age for marriage, the farm population is declining. Although rural births in 1951 exceeded rural deaths by a larger number than in 1914, more people are leaving rural areas than in the past.

Family Relationships in the Past

In order to measure changes in family relationships, the Commission has chosen to compare present-day family organization and relationships with those prevailing in farm families in an earlier day. Although no statistical studies of family relationships in the past exist and although family relationships must have varied among pioneer families as among contemporary families, a theoretical earlier family type has been reconstructed from literary and historical sources. It is presumed that the earlier family was characterized by:

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[30] *Youth, Marriage and the Family*, Canadian Youth Commission, Ryerson Press, Toronto, 1948, p. 33.

[31] See the brief discussion by George C. Homans, *The Human Group*, Harcourt, Brace, and Co., New York, 1950, pp. 276-280.

1) Considerable family integration or "wholeness" of family activity and thinking,

2) A clear-cut division of labour along sex and age lines among the various members of the family,

3) Father-centered decision making by which the father was the center of authority within the family,

4) Allocation of income by the father,

5) A wide range of contacts with relatives outside the immediate family,

6) Continuity of the family in farming.

Commission Survey of Family Relationships

In order to determine the extent to which changes in family relationships could be detected, the representatives of the Commission in the summer of 1953 interviewed 160 farm wives in four areas of the province with distinct but consistent trends in population — extreme depopulation, moderate depopulation, stable population, and increased population. Questions were asked to elicit information on the six aspects of family relationships presumed to characterize the earlier family. The results of the interviews were then analysed statistically to determine similarity to or deviation from the characteristics of the earlier family. Scores could range from 0 to 100. The high scores indicated behaviour and values resembling those of the earlier family; the low scores indicated that family dominance was weak and deviation from family patterns of the past.

The index scores for each aspect of family relationships studied were then related to several basic social and economic conditions which differentiate families in rural Saskatchewan — population trend in the family's area of residence, type of farm, size of farm, income level, stage of family life cycle, language spoken — whether English or not, and distance from town. In this way, variations according to these factors could be determined.

Family Integration. Family integration is particularly important for the farm family because the farm is operated as a family enterprise. This aspect of family relationships was measured largely by determining the extent of shared activities within the family. The average score for all 160 families for family integration was 67.7. Family integration was found to be related to the population trend in the area, the families from the moderately depopulated areas having a lower score for family integration than those in the other areas. Strong family integration was also found to be related to type of farming, the families in grain farming having relatively higher scores than the families in mixed farming or livestock production. Family integration is also affected by the stage of the family life cycle, families in the older child stage having lower scores for integration.

Family Labour. The average score for the 160 farm families for family labour was 45.1, showing that this group of families no longer adhered strictly to the pattern of division of family labour along age and sex lines that was characteristic of farm families in the past. Index scores for family labour were related to type of farm and family life cycle but not to the other social and economic conditions. The earlier family pattern of division of labour was found more characteristically on the straight grain farms and in the younger child stages of the family life cycle, when the children have more time for farm chores.

Father-Centered Decision Making. Most of the families in the sample fell far short of the strong dominance by the father assumed for the family of an earlier day. The average score for the 160 families was 38.6. No significant differences were noted based on the social and economic factors analysed.

Income Allocation. Many farm wives felt that control of income allocation by the father was right or unavoidable. Since yearly income usually comes at one time, after harvest, it would not be practicable to pay wages to the children or budget an allowance to the wife. The son or father in these families generally paid most of the bills for the family. Considerable unpaid labour was contributed by the children, but in many cases the father planned to assume the responsibility of later establishing the children economically. No significant relationship was found between income allocation and the social and economic conditions studied.

Kinship Contacts. The families studied generally conformed to the pattern of close and frequent contacts with relatives characteristic of the earlier family except with respect to help to older relatives not living on the farm with the family and in having relatives living in the household. The index scores did not vary with social and economic conditions. Relatives seemed equally important everywhere and at all levels.

Family Continuity in Farming. The families revealed strong resemblance to the earlier family pattern of encouraging children to remain in farming. Much of this character of the earlier family pattern was related to the ownership of land and the necessity of making arrangements for succession to it. Most of the adults received help from their parents to get started in farming, and nearly all of them felt they should do the same for their children. Family continuity on the land was the only characteristic studied in this sample in which level of income was a related factor. The traditional pattern of family continuity in farming thus appears to be most associated with relative prosperity.

Social and Economic Conditions Affecting the Family. One important result of the study was the failure to find any general association between the decline in family patterns typical of the earlier family and population trends on an area basis. The one exception was for family integration in the moderately depopulated area, which suggests that the area of moderate depopulation with its lower scores for family integration might be further studied.

The type of farm was significant for family integration and family division of labour. In this sample, grain farm families seemed to be the stronghold of traditional family characteristics, at least with respect to family integration and family labour. The livestock and mixed farming families were much less traditional in their behaviour, and this may result in a greater probability that children in these types of farming will tend towards urban occupations.

The stage of the family life cycle was important for family integration and family labor. Families with children over 15 cannot be expected to be so well integrated as younger families. Women's and girls' duties were not so sex-related in the older-child stage as in the stages with younger children.

Finally, income was important only in the case of family continuity in farming. The more prosperous a family is, the more it reflects traditional ideals about helping the next generation to continue on the land. This is, of course, partly a result of economic capacity to help the children.

The factor of size of farm did not seem to be significantly related to any of the family characteristics studied. Other factors that seemed unrelated to any measured aspect of the families in this sample were crude measures of ethnic background (as indicated by speaking a language other than English) and isolation (as indicated by distance from town).

The Emerging Farm Family

Based upon its studies and observations, the Commission believes that the old type of farm family is gradually disappearing. As means of transportation and communication have been improved, urban ideas and influences enter the farm home. Family objectives become less predominant, and family functions atrophy as other agencies in town and city begin to fill needs ranging from recreation to worship. To know in greater detail the changes in family organization and relationships, further studies will be needed, since the Commission's study is only a beginning. But the emergence of a new type of rural family does not mean that the family becomes less important. On the contrary, the changes may mean more gain than loss; they may provide a new basis for family solidarity and resources to enrich the lives of its members.

CHAPTER VI

The Roles of the Rural Homemaker

Although home management and planning are increasingly thought of as a family affair, the wife by tradition and practice still plays the key part in this activity in many rural Saskatchewan homes. It is she who so often serves as catalytic agent in developing the co-operation of all family members to do a particular job or to work towards a goal which is to benefit the whole family. It is she who cultivates and transmits the basic skills of housekeeping, cooking, sewing, and child care. Her information, whether good or scanty, and her attitudes, whether constructive or defeatist, obviously are related to the satisfactions that her family members find in rural living. And the homemaker's own capacity and skill to play her roles are related to the opportunities she has to learn from others and to participate in the larger community.

The homemaker's roles are thus important to the well-being of her family. Her status and roles are also important because they reflect the impact of the environment on the family. It has been said that

> One effective method of studying the impact of culture on the family is through an analysis of how cultural change affects the status and role of woman as wife and mother, and consequently, how it affects family form and function. Woman, by her ability to bear and nurture children and by definition in our culture, is the nucleus of family life. Historically, cultural changes, and in particular, economic changes have had decisive effect upon women's place in society and in the family. Women's rights have been inextricably bound up with the broader problem of human rights, and improvements in the status of the masses, through changes in productive relations, have had repercussions on the status of women. When the dominant ideology of an era has been humanitarian and rationalistic and geared to the enlargement of freedom and the release of human potentialities, woman's status has advanced, if not always formally through legislation, none the less in practice. On the other hand, in periods of cultural retrogression, as under fascism, when human rights are curtailed, the earlier institutionalized restrictions which sanctioned and enforced the subordinate status of women are revived and intensified. The relative freedom accorded woman in economic and political life and in other forms of social activities has immediate and decisive influence on intra-familial relationships, on the husband-wife roles, and on parent-child authority.[1]

In Saskatchewan, the mechanization of agriculture and the urbanization of rural life have substantially modified the roles of farm women.

For purposes of analysis, a more precise delineation of these roles is helpful. Six major roles of the homemaker were identified in a study of home management in Michigan:[2]

1) *The manager* — managerial activities carried on by the homemaker alone. These include planning of budgets, menus, work schedules,

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[1] Bernhard J. Stern, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

[2] Dorothy Greey Van Bortel and Irma H. Gross, *A Comparison of Home Management in Two Socio-Economic Groups*, Technical Bulletin 240, Agricultural Experiment Station, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich., 1954.

and shopping lists; shopping and banking alone; and, where applicable, the supervision of employed help. It may include keeping farm account books.

2) *The housewife* — housekeeping activities carried on by the homemaker alone. Examples include food preparation, the storing of purchased foods, clean-up, washing and ironing clothes, house care, and mending.

3) *The family member* — activities in which the mother, father, and one or more children participate, such as eating together, working together in the house, garden, or fields, listening to the radio, visiting, entertaining at home, attending church or commercial entertainment, shopping together, and sharing in a family council.

4) *The mother* — activities shared by the mother and one or more children; father not present. These include physical care of children, planning with children, transporting them, supervising them, sharing housework, and others.

5) *The wife* — activities shared by the husband and wife, which may include such activities as planning and helping with the husband's business records, participating together in civic activities, working together in the home and fields, visiting and talking at or away from home, entertaining, and shopping.

6) *The "individual" role* — activities carried on by the homemaker as a person, without interacting with other family members, exclusive of managerial and housekeeping duties. Examples are working for pay, resting during the day, as well as other personal activities like grooming, driving, reading, pursuing hobbies, or some other personal recreation.

For the rural woman, it would seem especially necessary to add another role, which perhaps is not made too specific above:

7) *The farm helper* — activities carried on by homemaker alone which contribute to the labour requirements of the farm business, such as care of poultry, cleaning of milk equipment, and feeding livestock.[3]

These roles, of course, overlap; they are separated here for the purpose of better understanding. Of these roles perhaps the least appreciated is that of the manager. In the Michigan study, women in both lower and upper socio-economic groups seemed relatively unaware of management as a specific part of homemaking. They seemed not to recognize what is meant by home management or to see the contribution which home management can make to family living.[4]

Home management is defined as "a mental process" through which one plans, controls, and evaluates the use of family resources in order to achieve family goals.[5] In the agricultural occupation, it certainly cannot be separated from management of the farm itself. Hence the economic importance of the homemaker's roles is considerable.

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[3] See Helen C. Abell, "The 'Woman's Touch' — in Canadian Farm Work," *The Economic Annalist*, Vol. 24, No. 2, April, 1954, pp. 37-38.

[4] Van Bortel and Gross, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[5] Irma H. Gross and Elizabeth W. Crandall, *Management for Modern Families*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1954, p. 5. "Family resources" include time, money, energy, materials, interests and abilities, knowledge, skills, and community facilities.

Dorothy Dickins, studying home management among 936 low-income farm families in Mississippi, found that the managerial ability of the wife cannot be considered apart from that of the husband. The wives above or below average in household management tended to have husbands that were also above or below average in farm management.[6] Not that these two kinds of management are necessarily separated. In these low-income groups the wife was a farmer as well as a homemaker.[7]

The good home managers were (1) able to set goals and accomplish ends set; (2) had a fund of information and used it in solving problems; (3) conserved resources, recognized signs of quality, used money to advantage; (4) possessed skill in household tasks; and (5) shared responsibilities with other members of the family.

The poor household managers were (1) unable to formulate goals; (2) did not have a fund of knowledge or were not able to use what they had; (3) were wasteful of resources, did not recognize signs of quality, spent money unwisely; (4) lacked skill in household tasks; and (5) were too ready to do what others in the family should and might do.[8]

The effects of good household management upon family living in Mississippi were unmistakable. As the homemaker's competence in management increased, the material level of living rose significantly. Families with wives of above average managerial ability (managerial ability of husbands held constant) had more and better food, better housing, and spent greater amounts on clothing and other consumer goods than did families with wives of average or below average managerial ability. Over a period of a year's time these families had a greater increase in net worth. They had less illness, they participated more in educational clubs, they read more, and their children were less likely to be retarded in school. These above average home managers stood out in their ability to plan and direct family resources and to make selections of goods on the market.[9]

The homemaker is important in the farm occupation, but her role as a partner is not legally recognized. Wages to the farm wife are not recognized for income tax purposes. If the husband dies intestate, the farm wife may encounter real financial hardship. Her share of the estate is limited to one-third; this coupled with sizable inheritance taxes may make it impossible to carry on the farm business she has helped to establish. This is particularly true in the case of mechanized farms with high fixed costs.

The homemaker has an importance in the farm occupation which is not only economic, however, but also psychological. Unfortunately, this aspect has been less studied, perhaps because it is harder to pinpoint, but it is nonetheless real. In helping to develop personalities of children and in building satisfactory family relationships, the homemaker makes another contribution. "Managerial ability" does not mean that the family is operated like an impersonal efficient factory. For a family is still a family with intimate, personal relationships. Where these relationships are harmonious, family members willingly pull their weight in tasks around the farm and home that require family co-operation for their successful execution.

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[6] Dorothy Dickins, *Effects of Good Household Management on Family Living*, Bulletin 380, Agricultural Experiment Station, Mississippi State College, College Station, Miss., 1943, p. 8.

[7] This is an idea which has been cultivated in a series of folders, *The Homemaker as a Business Partner*, issued by the Extension Service, Montana State College. Folders 23 through 26, published January 1953, cover the following topics: Business at home, bank, and post office; credit, insurance, social security; estate plans, wills, property transfer; financing local government, schools and roads.

[8] Dickins, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[9] *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

Each stage of the family life-cycle, furthermore, has implications for the homemaker's responsibilities. In early married life, the young couple is beginning to form the managerial habits which will last for many years. Problems of getting the equipment needed for the farming operation may vie with those of furnishing a home; often the needs of the home are made secondary to production needs. The couple learns to pay for goods by cash or credit. If they are good managers, they may have even looked ahead to future economic risks by buying insurance or looking into other types of investments. Income may be low at this period, but there are only two people for whom food, clothing, shelter, and other necessities have to be provided.

As the children arrive, demands on family resources become increasingly heavy. Fortunately, increases in income ordinarily can be expected as the farm is developed. Yet most of the family resources may be directed towards some overriding goal such as farm ownership. At the same time, the family is faced with the problem of providing adequate food, clothing, medical care, and education — all the costs of raising children from birth to adulthood. This represents a long and extremely active period for the homemaker, in which her best skills are put to the test.

With departure of the children to jobs or homes of their own, the homemaker's responsibilities change again. Now the emphasis is upon activities suitable for the later years, and changes come in the manner of living. Food and housing needs contract; there must be adjustment to fast - approaching retirement and provision of income for old age. It has been well said that "The success with which families are able to meet and solve the problems they encounter in the last stage of the life cycle depends to a considerable extent upon the decisions they have made and the values they have emphasized in the earlier stages.[10]

SURVEY OF MEMBERS OF HOMEMAKERS' CLUBS

In the light of this thinking on the homemaker's roles, the Commission undertook a modest research project. The purpose of this research was to secure data for an exploratory analysis of some of the activities of rural women and problems of rural homes in the province. An 18-page questionnaire designed to yield information about the physical adequacy of the farm home and about the home management practices, social participation, and leisure activities of farm women was distributed to 325 delegates to the annual convention of Saskatchewan Homemakers' Clubs held at Saskatoon in June, 1953.[11]

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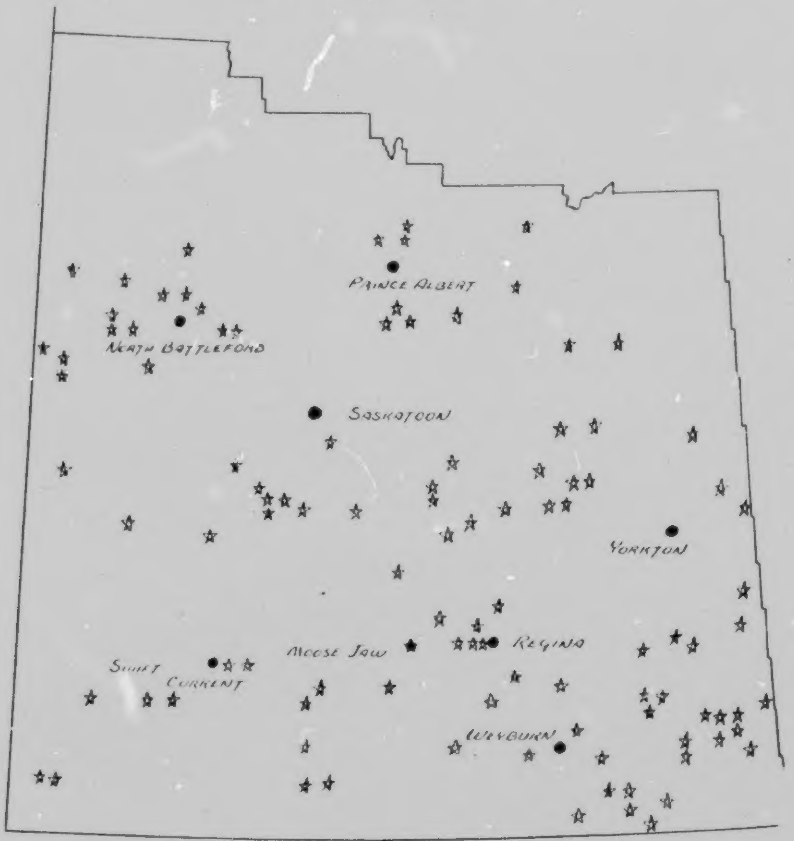
[10] Gross and Crandall, *op. cit.*, p. 483. See pp. 355-483 of this book for a special treatment of problems related to the family life cycle.

One hundred and twenty-five volunteers, members of Homemakers' Clubs, answered the questionnaire. Geographically, they were reasonably well distributed around the province. Figure 4 gives their approximate locations. The 125 completed questionnaires represent a 38 per cent response. This result is considered good in view of the length and difficulty of the questionnaire. Although a self-administered questionnaire which is mailed

FIGURE 4. LOCATION OF RESIDENCE OF HOMEMAKERS CO-OPERATING IN THE ROYAL COMMISSION STUDY



SOURCE: Questionnaires returned to the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life by members of Saskatchewan Homemakers' Clubs, 1953.

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[11] See Appendix VIII.

into a research center will not always yield good results, it was predicted, correctly, that better-than-average returns could be secured from this sample of delegates to a Homemakers' convention. With a motto, "For Home and Country," the clubs identify themselves as non-political and non-sectarian. Their aims are: "To help women acquire sound and approved practices for home efficiency; to discover, stimulate, and train leaders; to develop a more abundant life in our rural communities and a deeper appreciation of things near at hand; to develop better, happier, and more useful citizens."[12]

Characteristics of the Sample

The 125 Homemakers averaged 42.6 years of age, with their husbands averaging about five years older. The majority of families were in the child-rearing stage, with an average family size of slightly over 4 persons. They resided in the various types of farming areas found in Saskatchewan.[13] With respect to representativeness of the sample, the Homemakers and their husbands were considerably better educated and better off economically than the average rural farm couple in the province. Their farms and homes were larger and much better equipped with modern amenities.[14] The conveniences these Homemakers had were distributed as follows: electricity, 66 per cent; telephone, 84 per cent; furnace, 47 per cent; piped-in water supply, 22 per cent; power washing machine, 96 per cent.

It is important to remember that the 125 Homemaker members are not representative of the entire population of farm women in Saskatchewan. Thus, one must be forewarned that what is true for this group is not necessarily true, at least in the same way, for all rural homes in the province. Does the fact that these members of the Homemakers' Clubs are better educated and better off economically than the average homemaker mean that the results of the study fail to be of value? The answer is "No." The Homemakers represent a select group. The direction of bias is known. If their homes lack certain conveniences, if the Homemaker sample reports problems in meal planning and budgeting, and so on, then it can be safely assumed that these difficulties exist, probably to an even greater degree, for the non-Homemaker members in the country. Thus, in an area in the United States it has been shown that highest scores on a "Home Management Yardstick" were obtained by those women who had been exposed longest to extension training in home economics — which is generally obtained through Homemaker Club membership.[15] Generalizations from this survey may therefore present a better than average picture of the rural homemaker's discharge of her roles.

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[12] Brief of the Saskatchewan Homemakers' Clubs submitted to the Commission, p. 1.

[13] See Appendix IX for details on the characteristics of the 125 Homemaker families.

[14] See Appendix X for details on the representativeness of the 125 Homemaker families.

[15] Irma H. Gross, *Measuring Home Management*, Circular Bulletin 211, Agricultural Experiment Station, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich., 1948, p. 26.

It will be recalled that the purpose of this particular survey is in large part exploratory. This means, from a research standpoint, that only the surface has been scratched. Future research on Saskatchewan rural homes no doubt will aim for more precise results. In turn, this goal will necessitate more rigourous methods of research.

Findings of the Survey

The findings of the survey of members of Homemakers' Clubs may be described in terms of (1) activities within the home pertaining to provision of food and construction of clothing, (2) planning and management activities, and (3) leisure and community activities.

Activities Within the Home

Activities within the home that were described as a result of this study were confined to the provision of food and the construction of clothing for the family. Laundry was investigated only in connection with the availability of power washing machines, which 96 per cent of the Homemakers possessed. There was some evidence that quality of water was a problem for some homes and affected laundering as well as the flavour and appearance of food.

Food Production on the Farm. The majority of Homemakers were producing a substantial part of their meat and vegetable requirements. From 60 to 100 per cent of their meat was produced by 73 of the families, and from 60 to 100 per cent of their vegetables by 80 of the families. Twenty-three families were producing less than 60 per cent of their meat and vegetables; the 22 remaining families either said they produced none or did not answer the question.

A variety of methods were being utilized to preserve meats. Canning meat was done by 65 Homemakers, but freezing, used by 59, was almost as popular. Salting was reported by 19 respondents, and smoking by 11.

Of all the canned food consumed by their families, 80 per cent of the Homemakers were canning more than half the amount themselves. Different methods of canning were reported by the following numbers (some Homemakers used more than one method):

Cold-pack method	64
Open-kettle method	48
Hot-pack method	46
Pressure-cooker method	38

Although the group appeared to prefer the cold-pack and open-kettle methods of canning, these are not necessarily the methods recommended by most home economists. Use of the pressure cooker is the only method recommended for non-acid vegetable canning, while the hot-pack method is suggested for fruit canning. These Homemakers were using the other methods perhaps because they were simpler and required less equipment. Presumably, they found their own methods worked, even though they might not be the recommended methods because of the danger of botulism.

An attempt to obtain a breakdown of food usually canned by the major items was not completely successful because some of the Homemakers neglected to answer the questions. Unless records are kept, it is difficult to estimate amounts for the season. Amounts canned also differ from year to year depending upon the harvest, amount of time available to do canning, and other variables. Table 29 shows the amount of canning reported, by types of food.[15]

Far more fruit was canned than vegetables. Four women reported canning over 300 quarts of fruit. By contrast, the amount of meat and fowl canned was modest, undoubtedly an indication of the growing use of home freezers and lockers in town. The canning of pickles, relishes, jellies, and jams is apparently a highly prized art for some Homemakers, judging by the quantity produced. Possibly the older women have more time for it. It is perhaps also a result of past experience with bland diets; these special foods give a zest to monotonous meals. The replies to the questionnaires reveal a close relationship, in general, between the total amount of canning done by the Homemaker and the size of her family.

Most of the vegetables canned were probably home-grown, while the fruit was mostly purchased. At least this inference could be made from the Homemakers' reports of what they grew themselves. All but 3 of the 125 had their own gardens:

Potatoes were raised by 98 families;

Salad vegetables were raised by 112 families;

Other vegetables were raised by 120 families;

Fruit was raised by 13 families.

Nearly all families raise vegetables, which provides a basis for improved nutritional standards. The number of families raising fruit, however, is low, despite the work of horticulturists to determine fruits that

TABLE 29. FOOD CANNED BY 125 HOMEMAKERS, SASKATCHEWAN, 1953

Amount Canned (in Quarts)	Vegetables	Fruit	Pickles and Relishes	Jellies and Jams	Meat and Fowl
None	3	1	3	3	5
1-30	21	4	38	26	25
31-60	27	10	22	8	20
61-90	18	16	2	—	7
91-120	14	20	—	—	6
Over 120	10	50	1	—	1
No reply	32	24	59	88	61
Total	125	125	125	125	125

SOURCE: Questionnaires returned to the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life by members of Saskatchewan Homemakers' Clubs, 1953.

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[15] It is assumed that the bulk of "no replies" were individuals who did not have any of that type of canning to report.

are adapted for growth in Saskatchewan's climate.

The responsibility for the care of the garden gives an insight into the role of the homemaker as related to other family members. In this group of Homemakers the relationships shifted with differing phases of garden care, from cultivation to harvest. As indicated in Table 30, the wife was relatively more responsible for planting than the other phases. The husband often took care of the cultivation, but his garden work fell off sharply after that, probably because he would be busy with other farm operations. For a substantial number of families, the care of the garden was a joint family or husband-wife responsibility throughout. There was more activity as families at harvest time than at any other. There was little indication in this Homemaker sample of the garden's being made a responsibility of the children alone. This was no doubt partly a result of the stage of the family life cycle in which many of these families found themselves.

Clothing Construction. Sewing was not a lost art with this Homemaker group. Forty-four were making up to 20 per cent of their family's clothing, and 45 made even a greater proportion — in fact, 10 reported making more than 60 per cent of their family's clothing. Sixteen homemakers indicated, however, that they made no clothing at all, and 20 did not answer the question.

Examples of the kinds of clothing made ranged from knit sweaters to the husband's work clothes. A frequency distribution of the items of clothing "ordinarily" made by indicated numbers of Homemakers is as follows:

TABLE 30. RESPONSIBILITY FOR CARE OF FAMILY GARDEN, AS REPORTED BY 125 HOMEMAKERS, SASKATCHEWAN, 1953

	Phases of Garden Care			
Persons Responsible	Cultivation	Planting	Weeding	Harvest
All family members	24	23	33	43
Wife and husband	20	27	35	29
Wife only	20	48	36	33
Husband only	42	8	5	2
Children only	4	1	2	1
Other arrangements*	12	12	10	12
No reply or no gardens	3	6	4	5
Total	125	125	125	125

SOURCE: Questionnaires returned to the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life by members of Saskatchewan Homemakers' Clubs, 1953.

* "Other arrangements" include use of hired help, wife only or husband only with children, in-laws, older relatives, and various combinations of these.

	Per Cent
House dresses and aprons	97
Pyjamas and night clothes	73
Children's play clothes	51
Stockings and sweaters	49
Wife's own "best clothes"	36
Children's "best clothes"	20
Husband's work clothes	11
Other types (linens, coats, curtains, hats, and so forth)	29

It may seem surprising that a greater number reported making their own everyday and "best" clothes than clothing for their children. Children's clothing, however, is easily purchased, especially play clothes such as jeans and shirts. Cross-classification of these data by age also explains part of the finding. In this survey 23 per cent of the Homemakers no longer had children at home; consequently, at their stage in life, they could do more sewing for themselves. There is probably also a difference in the amount of knitting done by the older Homemakers as compared to that done by the younger ones.

* * *

In summary, the Homemakers in this survey produced a substantial part of their meat and vegetable requirements at home. Preserving of meat and home canning of fruits and vegetables were done by a majority of Homemakers. Nearly all the families raised vegetables, and much of the responsibility for the care of the garden rested on the farm wife. Clothing was also made at home; 44 Homemakers reported making up to 20 per cent of their family's clothing, ranging from knit sweaters to the husband's work clothes, with 36 per cent making their own "best" clothes.

Planning and Management Activities

Planning and management activities investigated in this survey covered (1) home management practices, (2) planning of work and living areas, (3) health care of the family, (4) shopping, and (5) budgeting and saving. These activities are by no means all that the rural homemaker does by way of planning and management. The homemaker's activities, for instance, in connection with planning, arranging for, and facilitating music lessons, trips to the library (as in the area covered by the Prince Albert Regional Library), or other extra-curricular activities of the children were not investigated. But the activities covered here give some picture of the managerial role of this group of members of the Homemakers' Clubs.

Home Management. Apparently, the practice of meal planning in advance was not widespread. Only seven of the group planned meals two or more days in advance, 14 stated their only "planning" was the weekly grocery shopping. Forty-two women reported planning their meals one day ahead, and 65 stated "some" meals planned in advance.

Advance food prepartion was sometimes done. Sixty-six often cooked enough of some foods in order to provide dishes for two or more meals, and 74 cooked enough so that leftovers could be used later. Two women consistently cooked only enough quantities for one meal at a time. Opinion varied greatly as to the advisability of advance food preparation, ranging from "it's laziness" to "it's a timesaver."

Planning of Work and Living Areas. Homemakers were asked to sketch the ground floor layout of their houses, showing the location of each room and each major appliance. Inspection of the results shows much need for better planning, of work areas in particular. More attention might also be given to improving the convenience of living and sleeping areas. Water supply and toilet facilities appear often to be poorly located. Similar sketches of the surrounding farm layout indicate a wide need for planting to improve the comfort and attractiveness of individual farmsteads.

Most of the houses were relatively old. Only 30 structures were built within the last 15 years, 56 homes were between 16 and 20 years old, and 35 dwellings had passed their twentieth birthday.[17] The life expectancy of a house is generally considered to be about 30 to 40 years, but only four of these houses had been remodelled in the last five years.

With the transformations that are being made from old-fashioned farm homes to modern, convenient, attractive dwellings,[18] it would seem logical that extensive remodelling might be in store for the older houses. The majority of the families surveyed, however, were in the child-rearing stage and because of consumption expenditures may not have had the money to spend on home improvements at this time. Other explanations cannot be overruled: need for money for business expenditures and, especially for older families, sentimental attachments to the old place that have grown up over a period of years, or on the other hand, the attitude that the house is "not worth fixing up" — especially if plans for moving to town or to the West Coast are in the air.[19]

Health Care. Planned health care was relatively rare, with a little more emphasis upon regular examinations for the children than for the adults. Only 12 adults scheduled physical examinations at regular intervals; 19 families had the children examined regularly. The rest did "when necessary." Dental examinations were obtained more regularly — by 48 of the families for children as a regular practice, and by 35 families for adults.

Shopping. Shopping trips were frequent, not necessarily to the nearest town, although 66 per cent lived within 10 miles of the place they considered their main shopping center.[20] The rest indicated they travelled from 16 to 40 miles or more to do most of their shopping. Five went shopping only once or twice a month, 21 went three or four times a month, another 21 reported five or six times, 18 marked up seven or eight monthly trips, 12 reported nine or ten trips, and the rest of the Homemakers went shopping more often, even daily. Eight of the families lived right in town.

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[17] Appendix X discusses the size and adequacy of the dwellings of the Homemakers who replied to the questionnaire.

[18] See for example, Virginia Brainard, "Farm Homes Have Changed!" *Minneapolis Sunday Tribune*, August 28, 1955.

[19] Among useful references for rural housing are the following: *Ten Farm Houses*, Prairie Rural Housing Committee, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg; J. W. Day, *Farmstead Planning and Layout*, Rural Housing Advisory Committee for British Columbia, Department of Trade and Industry, Victoria, 1950; *When You Build or Remodel Your Farmhouse*, North Central Regional Publication 8, issued by University of Illinois, College of Agriculture, Extension Service in Agriculture and Home Economics, Circular Bulletin 620, January, 1948 (a series of Farmhouse Flexi-plans is also available from the North Central state experiment stations); *Remodelling Rural Michigan Homes*, Circular Bulletin 205, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan, 1947; John C. Wooley, *Planning Farm Buildings*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1953, especially Chap. 20, "Planning for the Farm Home", and Chap. 21, Planning for Utilities on the Farm"; May L. Cowles and M. H. Irvin, *Factors Affecting Farm Housing in the North Central Region*, North Central Regional Publication 33, issued by Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station as Bulletin 499, February 1953; Raleigh Barlowe and Ermond H. Hartmans, *Some Aspects of Farm Housing and Service Buildings in Michigan*, Technical Bulletin 232, Agricultural Experiment Station, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich., 1952.

More information about rural women's shopping practices would be of interest. A study should be made of catalogue buying, traditionally important in rural areas.

When asked how the shopping center could be improved for them, a large number of the Homemakers made specific suggestions. The foremost need, mentioned by 45 people, was for improved stores and services. Specific kinds of establishments needed were drygoods, grocery, hardware, and co-operative stores, bank facilities, a hairdresser, a locker plant, a restaurant, and a rural telephone company. Also mentioned generally was the need for a greater variety of goods, better credit terms for farmers, lower prices, and evening hours for stores. Of course, these comments were being made about a large number of different trade centers, but the general pattern may be significant.

The next largest group, 13 women, wanted new or improved restrooms for country people. Twelve Homemakers thought their trade centers could improve parking facilities, and an equal number complained about the roads into town. Improvements in recreation facilities (a community hall, a theatre, sports events) were suggested by eight women. Asking the question, "How can your shopping center be *improved* for you?" appeared to be a good method of finding out what Homemakers did not like about their trade centers.

Budgeting and Saving. Eighty-two per cent of the Homemakers reported their families did not keep a budget or a written plan of expenditures. Only 17 in the group kept a budget.[21] Expenditures on the home were planned jointly by the parents in 94 cases, and by the entire family including children in 21 cases. Five listed the wife only, and four the husband only. The replies would indicate a co-operativeness among family members in home financial matters, although one cannot conclude that democratic procedures necessarily were being used.

A significant pattern of responses was revealed by the Homemakers' answers to the question, "What do you think about budgeting for farm women?" Thirty did not answer the question. Those who did were rather sharply divided between those who essentially approved the idea of budgeting and those who rejected it. Some of the varying shades of opinion within those groups is indicated by Table 31.

Two women who favoured budgeting commented, "I think it's the only wise thing to do — does away with spending on non-essentials," and, "It would create a better understanding and stabilize home relations." The replies should be con-

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[20] Cf. the Commission's report on Service Centers.

[21] For five families the question was unanswered.

TABLE 31. OPINIONS ABOUT BUDGETING FOR FARM WOMEN AS REPORTED BY 125 HOMEMAKERS, SASKATCHEWAN, 1953

Classification of Opinions	Homemakers Reporting	
	Number	Per Cent
General acceptance of budgeting, e.g., "A good idea," "All right in most cases," "Excellent," etc.	28	23
Approve the idea of budgeting but indicate modifications upon its use, e.g., "A good idea *if* . . . (such-and-such a condition is met)"	15	12
Term it as a good idea "when possible," "if it works," "if you know how to," etc.	8	6
Complete rejection of budgeting for farm women	21	17
Reject the idea as incompatible with farming, e.g., "Farm income too erratic," "too time-consuming for the farm," etc.	13	10
Ambiguous answer—not enough information to reveal whether they are for or against budgeting for farm women	9	7
Misunderstood the question	1	1
No response	30	24
Total	125	100

SOURCE: Questionnaires returned to the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life by members of Saskatchewan Homemakers' Clubs, 1953.

sidered in the light of the previously reported fact that only 17 in the group of 125 actually were using a budget. Other studies have shown that while many women verbalize favourable attitudes toward the idea of financial planning, relatively few actually carry it through.

Budgeting is closely related to the kinds of financial records that are maintained. In this group, keeping receipted bills and cancelled cheques seemed to be the most popular practice. Sixty families kept record books or card files, while nine people stated they kept no record at all of their financial transactions.

Fifty-six per cent of the Homemakers stated that their families did not have a definite plan of saving. Very few saved more than they had planned to save; it was more usual that they had saved less than planned, either because of lower than expected income or unanticipated expenses. Apparently the need to save was a matter of concern to about three-fourths of these Homemakers, even though it was not always possible to implement it.

It should be noted that throughout the questions on budgeting and saving, about a quarter of the women refrained from giving answers. This fact might signify that they did not have a plan of saving or felt too discouraged about the problem even to answer questions on the subject. It is felt that this represents a rather general situation; it is certainly not inferred that only farm women feel this way. A few women apparently felt the questions too personal to answer, even in an anonymous questionnaire.

* * *

In summary, home management practices showed little advance meal planning but some advance food preparation. Sketches of working and living areas in the home revealed the need for better planning of work areas and more attention to the convenience of living quarters. Most of the homes were relatively old, but only four of the houses had been remodelled, perhaps because of the need for funds for living and education expenses for a growing family. Regular physical examinations for adults were infrequent, but regular dental examinations for children were arranged by 48 families. Shopping trips were frequent. Sixty-six per cent of families lived within 10 miles of their shopping center, but the rest travelled from 16 to 40 miles to shop. Numerous suggestions were made for the improvement of shopping facilities. Only 17 of the group of 125 Homemakers reported using a budget, but expenditures were planned jointly by family members in a large number of cases. Although the need to save was generally felt, few families were able to meet their expectations with regard to savings because of unanticipated expenses or lower than expected income.

Leisure and Community Activities

One of the assumptions of the Commission for this study was that the capacity of the farm wife to play her roles would be related to the opportunities she had to develop as an individual, to learn from others, and to participate in the larger community. These opportunities are related to the leisure activities and social participation of the homemaker, either in organizations or on a less formal basis.

Homemakers' Leisure Activities. What kind of leisure did the Homemakers seek for relaxation and inspiration? By far the largest group (55 per cent) named reading as their favourite leisure activity. This is perhaps to be expected for a relatively advantaged group. Next came sewing, knitting, and fancywork (27 per cent), movies (18 per cent), visiting and sports (each 12 per cent), radio listening (11 per cent), and travel (9 per cent). Other favourite leisure-time activities mentioned by smaller numbers were picnics, gardening, dancing, cards, meetings and public affairs, and piano playing. (Some Homemakers named more than one "favourite form" of recreation.)

How often were the Homemakers able to indulge in their favourite form of leisure activity? It appeared that either they engaged in the activity daily (when it was something like reading) or they engaged in it relatively seldom (perhaps when the favourite leisure activity was travel, for example).

In view of the popularity of reading, the Homemakers' reading habits and preferences take on considerable importance. Almost half of those surveyed (61) were reading from 1 to 15 books per year. Fourteen people reported never or seldom reading books; at the other extreme, there were nine who read more than 45 books yearly. Failing to respond to the question were 21; whether from lack of reading or from the difficulty of recalling the number of books read during a year, it is impossible to know.

The Homemakers' taste in books was foremost for fiction, particularly stories with a historical, detective, or adventure (spy or pioneer) flavour. Western, romantic, and nature stories lagged behind. Of non-fiction books, biography, history, and travel were most frequently liked, followed by books of humor, essays, letters, poetry, and drama. Social science, education, and useful arts were next in line, with fine arts and science coming last.

The kinds of books the Homemakers liked to read might not necessarily have been what was available to them, but it is presumed there was a close correlation. Fifty-six per cent of the group obtained their books from libraries, while the rest either borrowed, exchanged with friends, purchased separately, or obtained their books through book clubs. Some mentioned receiving books as gifts.

In the line of magazines, the Homemakers' preferences were distributed among many publications. Magazines read regularly included: *Readers Digest*, by 50; *The Country Guide*, 48; *MacLean's*, 46; *Ladies Home Journal*, 39; *Chatelaine*, 35; *McCall's*, 28; *Saturday Evening Post*, 26; *Western Producer*, 13; *Liberty*, 12; *Country Gentleman*, and *Life*, each 11; *Canadian Home Journal* and *Free Press Prairie Farmer*, each 10. The rest of the choices were distributed among 41 different magazines. Most respondents obtained their magazines through subscriptions (73 per cent). Buying directly from news stands were 27 women, while 14 did considerable borrowing and trading of magazines.

The women readers were seeking equally fiction stories and articles on homemaking in their magazines. (Each type of material was mentioned by 56 Homemakers.) Educational and informational articles, news and foreign affairs, and biographical accounts were listed as next in importance. Through magazines the farm wife seemingly would wish to become more educated in homemaking and world affairs and to cultivate her interest in people in general. By comparison there was a surprisingly small response to fashions, editorials, farm news, and religious articles.

Recent studies have underlined the importance of the mass communication media in reaching and teaching the adult population. It might be well to ask some pointed questions as to just how good a job these mass media are doing. For many homemakers, apparently the radio, television, magazines, and newspapers represent their chief sources of information for new ideas about how to manage their homes and raise their families.[22] The North Dakota Extension Service reports unusual response to television. A program on "Garden Varieties" brought over 1,000 inquiries for information. Other TV programs presented recently in North Dakota covered such topics as "The Evolving House," "The Interior of the Evolving Home," "Electricity in Your Home," "Insulating Your Home," "Spring Clothes," "Meat Cutting," and "Behind the Pork Chops."[23]

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[22] Van Bortel and Gross, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Helen C. Abell, "The Exchange of Farming Information," Economics Division, Canada Department of Agriculture, 1953, p. 1.

[23] Barbara Faust and John Burnham, "Television Helps Tell NDAC Agricultural Story," *BiMonthly Bulletin*, North Dakota Agricultural Experiment Station, Vol. 16, No. 6, July-August 1954, pp. 211-216.

Radio was clearly an important source of stimulation and information for the 125 Saskatchewan Homemakers. All but one out of 120 had a radio. (Five did not answer the question and may not have had a radio.) They "had their radios on" from 1½ to as many as 18 hours a day; it is not clear whether this necessarily represented actual listening time. The median was between 5 and 8 hours a day, with 24 per cent reporting more than 8 hours a day. Listening habits however, were seasonal; the same people who reported listening ½ to 4 hours daily during the summer months were listening 6 to 12 hours in the winter.

Table 32 indicates the kinds of programs preferred by the women. Music heads the list, considering

TABLE 32. POPULARITY OF LEADING TYPES OF RADIO PROGRAMS WITH 125 HOMEMAKERS, SASKATCHEWAN, 1953

Type of Program		Number Who Like This Type of Program Now	Number Who Wish to Hear More of This Type	Favoured Times for More of This Type
Music:	Type unspecified	50	10	Afternoon
	Old-time and western	17	8	Evening
	Classical, semi-classical	12	7	Evening
	Dance orchestra	11	5	Morning & Evening
	Religious music	3	—	—
Dramatic plays		73	38	Evening
News and commentators		56	7	Evening
Educational talks, discussions		39	22	Evening
Quiz programs		37	5	Evening
"Soap" programs		23	—	—
Variety entertainment		20	10	Evening
Talks on farm problems		17	7	Afternoon & Evening
Farm market reports		9	—	—
Women's programs		8	9	Morning
Religious programs		7	3	Morning
Children's programs		5	11	Afternoon
No response		3	41	

SOURCE: Questionnaires returned to the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life by members of Saskatchewan Homemakers' Clubs, 1953.

all types. Next in popularity were dramatic plays. The first emphasis in radio listening appeared to be on entertainment, but then followed news and a variety of informational programs. It should be noted that the categories in Table 32 are undoubtedly overlapping to an extent. What one woman considered a "soap" program another might call a "dramatic play."

Thirty-eight wanted more dramatic plays, with evening as the preferred time. More educational programs including general talks and discussions, book reviews, music appreciation, child psychology and so forth, were next in demand. Perhaps the most significant result of the question, "What kinds of programs would you like to hear more of?" was the large number (41) who failed to respond. It might be an indication that the Homemakers are reasonably well satisfied with what is available now; at least, they have no specific suggestion for improvement.

A question to determine the women's three favourite radio stations revealed that CBK (or the CBC network) was by far the first choice—named by 47 Homemakers (Table 33). CBK also had the highest number of second choices. CKCK was listed as a higher second choice (by 22) than as a first choice (by 16). The same was true for CFQC, listed as second choice by 21 people and as first choice by 15. CKCK had the largest number of third choices (23). CKRM was listed as first choice by 13, second choice by 12. The choice of favourite radio stations

TABLE 33. FAVOURITE RADIO STATIONS OF 125 HOMEMAKERS, SASKATCHEWAN, 1953

Station and Location	Number of Times Chosen		
	First Choice	Second Choice	Third Choice
CBK, Watrous	47	24	16
CKCK, Regina	16	22	23
CFQC, Saskatoon	15	21	12
CKRM, Regina	13	12	11
CHAB, Moose Jaw	11	20	13
CKBI, Prince Albert	9	1	4
CJGX, Yorkton	2	2	2
CJNB, North Battleford	0	1	9
Miscellaneous stations*	7	4	13
No response	5	18	22

SOURCE: Questionnaires returned to the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life by members of Saskatchewan Homemakers' Clubs.

* Includes French language, distant, and U.S. stations.

may be influenced by local interest, the location of the radio station, or the quality of reception, as well as by the programs presented.

Community Activities. An "organizational participation score" was computed for each Homemaker. One point was counted for each organization to which the Homemaker belonged, 5 points for each office held, and 1 point for each meeting attended during the year. The results revealed that, on the average, the Homemakers were very active in organizations. Forty-two of them had an organizational participation score of over 40 points. Another large group, 45 women, had scores of between 20 and 40 points, and 30 Homemakers were in the 11 to 20 point category.

"Why do you belong to organizations?" the group was asked. Social and recreational purposes (answers like "Because I enjoy it") were mentioned the most often — 65 times. Next came reasons which could be classified as community improvement, 51 times; educational purposes, 25 times; family and personal improvement, which is perhaps much the same as "educational purposes," 17 times; moral and religious reasons, 13 times. Only nine women were vague about their reasons for belonging to organizations, although 13 failed to answer the question. These replies indicate not only that community interest ran high but also that the women themselves realized that social participation had educational values for their roles in the family. Considerable informal education in home economics is apparently derived through participation in voluntary groups.

In addition to activity in organizations, there was a great amount of visiting and entertaining, a more informal type of social participation, but with much the same value. Thirty-seven Homemakers visited from four to six people regularly; this seemed to be the typical number. There were a few, however, who visited as many as 25 people regularly. Only four Homemakers never or seldom visited people.

These friends were usually also close neighbours. Many of them lived within a mile. Even the most distant friend whom the Homemaker visited regularly tended to live within ten miles. Despite an increasingly mobile rural society, friends seem to be chosen among those people in the local area in which one lives, judging by the Homemaker replies. Twenty years ago, close friends usually lived within a radius of three or four miles. Despite today's increased mobility, the open-country neighbourhood is still relatively small, with a radius of ten miles. Most of the people visited with friends and neighbours once a week, or once every two weeks, and a substantial number visited twice a week. This frequency might seem quite high, especially for the busy summer months, but it is again a comment on the sociability of these families.

As part of this informal social activity, the Homemakers and their families did a good deal of entertaining. Sixteen families reported entertaining 100 or more guests for meals in a year's time. On the average, however, adult guests were invited for meals about once a week. Children also frequently invited their friends as guests for meals.

* * *

In summary, leisure activities of Homemakers were varied. Preferences in reading and radio programs were spelled out in some detail. This group of Homemakers participated extensively in community activities because they enjoyed the work, wished to contribute to the improvement of the community, and found educational value in the activities. Visiting and entertaining — an informal type of social participation but with much the same value as work in community organization — was also frequent.

THE CHANGING ROLES OF FARM WOMEN

The roles of farm women are changing. Changes in the organization of agricultural production have relieved farm women of considerable physical work. Modern means of communication have brought the rural homemaker into contact with the same ideas and forces that influence the city wife. Social changes require that rural women be equipped to aid their families in adjusting to a changing rural environment and to participate themselves in the life of the community. Rural women need help in developing an integrated personality that can get the most out of what the world has to offer and contribute the most to the family and community. Perhaps extension activity in homemaking and Homemakers' Clubs, traditional channels for help in solving homemaking problems, can be utilized for this newer purpose also.

Indicative of awakening interest in the broadened roles of women was a conference on potentialities of women in the middle years, held at Michigan State College in April, 1955. Suggestions were made on how women in that period of life could better adjust to their place in society. Rather than years of frustration or personal disorganization, the middle years — 45 to 65 — should be potentially the best years of a woman's life. Yet women in the middle years are being wasted, largely because communities have not devised ways of utilizing their services. One consultant pointed out, for example, that the problems and needs of local government require the skills that mature women have developed through the years — ability at developing human relationships and knowledge of education of children, health care, sanitation, community housekeeping, and home management.

In any event the evidence suggests that women's roles in the last half-century have changed far more than men's roles and that clarification of these new roles is still in process. Pauline Trueblood has dramatized this by suggesting a new word, "agathelian," for the vocation of married women.[24] An adaptation of a Greek word which closely approximates the old term, "good wife," it encompasses the ideas of mother, companion, sweetheart, homemaker, housewife, teacher, and creator of spiritual values. (Those rural women who are tired of saying they are "just housewives" may wish to cause consternation by answering that they are agathelians!) It is not inconceivable that at some future date a mother's wage will be seriously considered by government as society's recognition that her services are just as valuable as those of the women who go out to work in industry.[25]

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[24] Elton and Pauline Trueblood, *The Recovery of Family Life.* Harper and Brothers, New York, 1953, p. 81.

[25] Warren Thompson, *Population Problems,* 3rd ed., McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York, 1953, p. 434.

This discussion of the roles of rural women is not intended to ignore the roles of the father and children in the home. They also could be made the subject of considerable study and reflection. The farm family as a union of husband and wife, parents and children, has always been noted for its closeness and its permanence. Agriculture remains the one enterprise that affords unusually great opportunities for the development of strong family organization. The importance of the family, not only for happy living but in cold dollars and cents contribution to the farm enterprise, poses the question as to why Saskatchewan has so long neglected to make better provision for such family needs as pre-marriage guidance, sex education, marriage counselling, child guidance clinics, and nutrition and home management education. The lack of family education can be viewed as a loss equal to or greater than the loss from the grasshopper scourge, drought, or low prices.[26] Schools, clinics, extension services, and churches are striving mightily to meet the need; in the future the efforts of these groups will undoubtedly receive more and more support from an informed public.

SUMMARY

Relationship of Homemakers' Roles to Farming

The rural homemaker plays roles that have real economic and psychological importance for the farm occupation. Not only does the homemaker weld the family together to work for goals that benefit the family and its occupation, but she carries on important managerial, housekeeping, and child care functions and also serves as farm helper in many cases.

Survey of Members of Homemakers' Clubs

A survey made by the Commission of members of the Homemakers' Clubs yielded information about home management practices, planning and budgeting, and leisure activities and social participation of these Homemakers. It should be noted that the Homemakers who answered the questionnaire represented a group that had established themselves in farming, were better off economically than the average rural farm couple in the province, and had larger and better equipped homes than the average. Although the Homemakers are not representative of the entire population of farm women of the province, it can be assumed that, if the Homemakers face problems in homemaking, more disadvantaged households have even greater difficulties.

1) The majority of the Homemakers processed substantial amounts of food, cared for vegetable gardens, and made some clothing for the family.

2) This group showed little awareness of the possibilities of home management techniques, such as planning meals in advance and budgeting. Little remodelling of homes had been done to provide efficient work areas and convenient living quarters, perhaps because the majority faced heavy expenses of caring for and educating a growing

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[26] W. B. Baker, "At Home on the Prairie," *Food for Thought*, March, 1954, p. 25.

family. Regular health care was not common except for dental examinations for the children.

3) The Homemakers surveyed obtained new ideas for homemaking from their leisure activities of reading books and magazines and listening to the radio. Their community activities, undertaken by most for enjoyment, community improvement, or educational purposes, also enriched their lives and expanded their skills as homemakers.

Changing Roles of Farm Women

The drudgery in the life of farm women is disappearing, and the roles of farm women are being extended to include aid to the family in adjusting to a changing rural environment. Particularly in the middle years of life women have a great potentiality for contributions to society that has not been developed. Better provision could be made for family education and particularly for such needs as pre-marriage guidance, sex education, marriage counselling, child guidance clinics, and nutrition and home management education.

CHAPTER VII

Services for Rural Families

Changes in the material level of living of farm families, changes in family organization and relationships, and changes in the roles of farm women have affected the services required by farm families. Although the rural homemaker of today has the benefit of technological advances and increased educational opportunities, she has many new tasks and responsibilities that have grown from the mechanization of agriculture and the mobility of farm people. Two world wars and the improved status of women have taken the rural homemaker outside the four walls of her home. A rural environment influx has created many new problems in home and time management, child care, and family relations. And changes in the mode of living of farm families have heightened the importance of services for the rural family designed to meet current needs.

Many types of services are needed. These include services to assure the maximum benefit from labour-saving devices; services to help develop the most effective relationship between the home and the farm plant; services to strengthen the relationships within the family and to help the family adjust to a changing rural environment; and services to aid the cultural development of the farm wife as a successful homemaker and contributor to the community. A noted rural sociologist has suggested that the program of extension services should be broad and well balanced.

> Such a well-balanced program can and should be as broad as the recognized needs of rural life. We are reminded more than once that extension is not simply agriculture or home economics, not just technical, but that social and cultural activities and knowledge have an important place as an integral, not a peripheral, part of the continuing long-time program; assuming, of course, that such needs are not met by other agencies. The problems must be correlated, the programs integrated. That is why health, nutrition, marketing, credit, social and recreational programs must have their place.[1]

This chapter is a study of the various services that exist to aid the homemaker in meeting the problems of the rural home. Extension services provided by government and university are generally considered the main aid to homemakers. Their services help to stimulate better homemaking, and they support the values contributed by the home to the family and the community. In addition, other agencies provide valuable services to aid the homemaker: (1) commercial organizations, (2) the press, radio, television, and libraries, and (3) voluntray organizations.

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[1] Edmund de S. Brunner, "Summary of the Conference," *Conference Report on the Contribution of Extension Methods and Techniques Toward the Rehabilitation of War-Torn Countries*, U.S. Department of Agriculture Extension Service and Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Washington, D.C., 1945, p. 236.

Services Provided by Various Agencies

The Federal Government

The Federal Government undertakes numerous activities that directly aid the homemaker. Its research on economic and social questions, particularly on the cost of living, is important to the family. The Canada Department of Agriculture, the National Department of Health and Welfare, and the Department of Trade and Commerce all carry on research that affects the family. The Department of Fisheries renders a more specific service in promoting the use of a particular product. Its educational campaign on the use of fish, its publication of recipes, and other measures are designed to aid a national industry and improve the nutrition of families.

In addition, specific programs of the Federal Government are designed to improve the economic position of the family. Family allowance payments, old age pensions, and unemployment insurance are measures to protect dependent groups — children, the aged, and the unemployed. Farm improvement loans are designed to foster the improvement of living levels of farm families.

The quality of the research and information useful to rural families, that is provided by the Federal Government is high,[1] but the scope is severely limited, since many fields of interest to rural homemakers are not covered. Futhermore, the effect of the research that is done could be greatly increased by making it available in more popular and attractive form to larger numbers of families.

One field of importance to consumers in which the Federal Government provides service is the regulation and standardization of food and drugs. The Food and Drugs Act and numerous other statutes are designed to protect consumers by prescribing and enforcing standards for the quality of food and drugs.[2] In addition, the National Trade Mark and True Labelling Act provides a frame work for the development of national standards for other consumer goods in order to prevent deception of the public in advertising.[3] But to date the use of national standards by manufacturers is voluntary, and only those manufacturers desiring to use the national trade mark need comply with specified national standards.[4] Although grade labelling of most foods has been achieved, uniform standards for many other consumer goods are not required. Regulations governing the labelling of textile material and clothing, however, became effective January 1, 1956. Not only could the Federal Government require more comprehensive standardization of consumer goods, but considerable public education is required to inform consumers of the meaning of grade labelling and standardized quality.[illegible]

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[1] See *A List of Published Material by Members of the Economics Division, 1930-53* and the 1954-55 supplement, Canada Department of Agriculture, Ottawa, 1953 and 1955, and particularly the following excellent studies: Helen C. Abell, *Alberta Farm Operators and the Level of Living Concept*, 1952; Frank Uhlir and Helen C. Abell, *Rural Young People and their Future Plans*, 1953; Helen C. Abell, *The 'Woman's Touch'—in Canadian Farm Work*, 1954.

[2] For a full discussion of this subject, see Robert Emmet Curran, *Canada's Food and Drug Laws*, Commerce Clearing House, New York, 1953. Note should also be taken of the work of Dr. Pett of the Department of National Health and Welfare and the Canadian Nutrition Council in the development of Canada's Food Rules.

[3] Rev. Stats. of Canada, 1952, c. 191.

[4] Canada Year Book, 1952-53, p. 907.

The Provincial Government

Programs of the Provincial Government affect the living standards, welfare, and cultural life of farm families. The Department of Agriculture, through its many programs and particularly through its Agricultural Representative Service, strives to improve agricultural production. The Department of Public Health provides preventive health services, nutrition education, medical care for special groups, conducts a farm safety program, and administers the Saskatchewan Hospital Services Plan. The Department of Social Welfare provides aid to dependent groups in the province.

The Department of Education provides many services. In addition to supervising and supporting the provision of public school education, it provides library services and a general program of adult education. Through the Saskatchewan Arts Board of the Department of Education, cultural activities in rural communities are encouraged. The Physical Fitness and Recreation Division of the Department of Education stimulates sports and recreation activities. All these services aid rural families, but the Department does not employ a supervisor of home economics education for the school system.

The Saskatchewan Power Corporation, in extending electrification to rural areas and in promoting the use of electrical appliances, is rendering a service essential to raising the level of living of farm families. Other services provided by the Provincial Government for rural families are both general and specialized, but they are provided by many agencies and in different ways. Their value is somewhat lessened because of the lack of co-ordination of these services at the provincial and local levels.

University of Saskatchewan

The division of Women's Service of the University of Saskatchewan is the only extension agency in the province with a broad range of services for the rural family as a whole, but even these services are limited primarily to the skills of homemaking. A small staff prepares bulletins, conducts an educational program in the skills of homemaking, largely cooking and needlecraft, and arranges short courses at various places in the province. The lack of field staff and the small budget of the Division necessarily limit the influence and the program of the division. Although the Women's Service carries on much of its work through 4-H Clubs, Homemakers' Clubs, and community training courses, individual contacts with farm women scattered throughout the province cannot be made and maintained. Little aid can be given in the broad fields of home management and budgeting of time and money.

Commercial Organizations

In addition to agencies of government and the University, commercial organizations provide a wide range of qualified and valuable research and information related to their particular products. Sellers of consumer durable goods, particularly electrical appliances, give

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[illegible] See, for example, the pamphlet, *Buy by Grade*, Consumer Section, Marketing Service, Canada Department of Agriculture, 1950.

demonstrations; manufacturers and processors of food conduct cooking schools; and sewing courses and aid with interior decorating are provided by companies operating in these fields. Bulletins and pamphlets are issued on many subjects — food, clothing, home decorating, budgeting, insurance, and finance. Aid with accounting is provided by manufacturers of tabulating machines, and banks supply account books to farm businesses. Not only printed materials but instructional films as well are distributed by many companies.

The homemaking information provided by private companies is naturally affected by the companies' desire to sell their products. Conflicting information provided by competing companies is often confusing to the family faced with the problem of the best expenditure of its homemaking dollar. Although *Consumer Reports*[7] and *Consumers' Research Bulletin*[8] are widely circulated in Canada both by subscription and news stand sales, no Canadian buying guide reporting on Canadian models and products is issued by an independent organization. Clearly, the need exists for some technical and impartial evaluation of Canadian consumer goods.

Press, Radio, Television and Libraries

The press, radio, and television are important sources of information on homemaking and family life. The women's pages of the farm press are devoted to cooking and food preservation, patterns and sewing, child care, and health. Magazines, some Canadian but the majority published in the United States, present colourful articles and advertising dealing with housing, food, health, marriage, and problems relating to children and adolescents. Radio and television also present regular programs of interest to the homemaker, but many programs on general rural problems could be broadened to include more consideration of the problems of the farm home. Only the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation has made a consistent effort to address programs to problems of family relationships and mental health.

Books are an important source of information for meeting the problems of daily living and can also enrich and broaden the lives of all members of the family. In Canada, 88 per cent of the rural people do not have access to books in their communities. In Saskatchewan, the need for good books, accessible locally, has been met in one area through the establishment of the North Central Saskatchewan Regional Library. Headquartered at Prince Albert, this library and its 11 branches serve 28,000 people in nine municipalities. In 1952, 62,341 books were read by the 5,093 registered borrowers.[9] Although legislation authorizes provincial support for regional libraries established by a group of co-operating municipalities, no other regional libraries have been formed. Rural people in other parts of the province do not have ready access to books. They lack this resource that can supplement the fragmentary information of the press and radio, extend their horizons, and help them with the problems of work and daily living.

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[7] *Consumer Reports* is a monthly magazine with an annual buying guide published by Consumers Union of United States, Inc. It reports the results of tests of various products and assigns ratings to the quality of the products tested. Consumers Union has no connection of any kind with any commercial interest; it accepts no advertising; and it does not permit the use of its ratings to promote the sale of any product.

[8] Consumers' Research is a non-profit institution that carries out tests and research on a wide variety of goods, materials, and appliances for the benefit of ultimate consumers, not for business or industry. Its findings are published in its monthly magazine, *Consumer's Research Bulletin*. A third but smaller agency in the United States that rates consumer goods is the Inter-Mountain Consumers' Service located in Denver.

The use of public information media provides unlimited opportunities for bringing information on the family and homemaking to the rural family. The potential of these channels of communication for aiding and improving family life has not been developed fully. Not only could the level of material presented by the press, radio, and television be raised, but all channels of communication, if properly utilized, could vastly extend the influence of all groups providing services to the rural family.

Voluntary Organizations

Voluntary organizations, particularly women's organizations, play an important role in spreading information on homemaking and problems of the family. The Canadian Association of Consumers, the Saskatchewan Homemakers' Clubs, the Women's Co-operative Guilds, and the Women's Section of the Farmers Union are all concerned with problems of the farm home. Other organizations — educational, religious, or philanthropic — also engage in activities and conduct educational programs that help the homemaker. In Saskatchewan, every rural community is highly organized, and most women belong to several organizations. The view was expressed at community forums that there are "too many organizations and too much to do." This view shows the broad contact of voluntary organizations with rural women.

The virtue peculiar to voluntary organizations in the spread of information of use to the homemaker is the personal contact among neighbours and friends that these organizations afford. Local leaders, acquainted with their community and serviced by a national organization, are in an ideal position to win the confidence of their community and provide leadership in the solution of problems of the home.

Voluntary organizations, however, do not rely solely on personal contacts to promote their objectives. Radio, pamphlets, films, film strips, and television all extend the reach of voluntary organizations and, if effectively used, can multiply contacts with farm men and women.

Survey of Organizations Providing Services

In order to have a more detailed picture of the many services provided to homemakers, the Commission undertook a survey of the functions of governmental, commercial, and voluntary organizations designed to serve the rural home and family. Two questionnaires were distributed — a general questionnaire to 21 agencies and organizations and a special questionnaire to radio and television stations in the province.[10]

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[9] Brief submitted by the Library Advisory Council of Saskatchewan to the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life, p. 2.

[10] Appendix XI presents the two questionnaires and a list of the organizations to which they were sent.

General Questionnaire. Governmental, voluntary, and commercial agencies were questioned on the purpose of their program, the means used to spread information, the number of persons reached and their distribution by size of population center, and special problems encountered in reaching the rural community.

Of the 21 agencies questioned, 90.5 per cent had a branch of special interest to homemakers, and all but one had a public information or educational service. Of the 20 agencies indicating the purposes of their program, 19 specified adult education, 16 stated public information, 9 stated research, and 7 specified advertising. The techniques used to disseminate information are presented in Table 34. The use of various means of information as rated by the agencies in order of importance is presented in Table 35. It is interesting that none of the agencies rated films, radio, press, or interviews as the most important means of reaching consumers, but nine agencies rated bulletins as their main method.

Organizations varied in their evaluation of the most effective ways of getting in touch with the rural community. Personal or small group contact was considered extremely effective. Contacts with local organizations were considered desirable and also demonstrations, fairs, field days, "schools" as well as contacts through means of public information — bulletins, press, and radio. Apparently, the organizations were not always able to utilize the optimum means of contact with the rural public.

Large numbers of people were reached by the organizations questioned. One voluntary women's or-

Table 34. Techniques for Disseminating Information to Homemakers as Reported by 20 Selected Agencies, 1955

Technique	Number of Respondents	Number Using Technique	Proportion of Respondents
			Per Cent
Demonstration	20	18	90
Bulletins	20	17	85
Lectures	20	16	80
Films	20	16	80
Press	20	14	70
Radio	20	12	60
Interviews	20	8	40
Other	20	15	—

Source: Questionnaires returned to the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life by agencies serving the rural family.

TABLE 35. IMPORTANCE OF VARIOUS TECHNIQUES FOR DISSEMINATING INFORMATION TO HOMEMAKERS AS RATED BY 17 SELECTED AGENCIES, 1955

Technique	First Choice	Second Choice	Third Choice	All Other Choices
Bulletin	9	4	–	4
Demonstration	3	2	5	8
Lectures	2	3	5	6
Press	–	5	1	8
Radio	–	1	4	7
Films	–	2	1	13
Interviews	–	–	1	7
Other	3	–	–	12

SOURCE: Questionnaires returned to the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life by agencies serving the rural family.

ganization estimated, for instance, that it reached 1,000 women through its program. Another women's organization reported that it reached 5,700 rural women a year. An agency of the Provincial Government reported contacts with 200,000 individuals and 220,000 at meetings. Of the total audience reached by these organizations, the largest proportion were farm people. The organizations reported that of the people contacted annually, 44 per cent lived on farms, 31 per cent lived in small urban centers, and 25 per cent lived in large urban centers.

Three-quarters of the organizations reported that their services were used by individuals, more than half reported that their services were used by community leaders and organizations, and a considerable number reported use by professionals.

All but one of the organizations stated that they make a special effort to reach rural women. This contact was achieved through various means — local and provincial organizations, bulletins and newsletters, press, radio, field days and demonstrations, meetings, conferences, classes, and personal visits.

Most of the organizations replying to the general questionnaire employed trained professional personnel in their programs — home economists, trained health workers, librarians, or general university graduates. Only a few were served by voluntary workers or solely by elected officers.

Numerous problems were identified by the organizations in reaching rural women. They included problems within the organizations themselves and problems in the community. Many of the organizations suffer from limited funds, lack of sufficient trained staff, and difficulties in having information communicated from the local secretary to the membership at large. Commercial organizations found that their rural dealers sometimes lacked enthusiasm because of the costs of installing equipment, advertising, and prizes. One organization felt that its promotion work was directed too much to urban people and that a wider coverage for rural people should be undertaken. Thus, a greater understanding of the needs and aspirations of rural women on the part of organizations providing service was thought necessary. Effective means of describing the services must also be found, since many of these services must be used to be appreciated.

More serious were the obstacles in the community to reaching rural families, principally the distances between farm homes and the poor roads. In addition, the large number of organizations in rural communities, the lack of opportunity for personal contact, the reluctance of many women to assume responsibility in organizations, and some resistance to new educational programs were also mentioned as obstacles to reaching rural families. One organization pointed out that rural women are inadequately represented on municipal councils and committees of community organizations.

In general, the organizations questioned specified the need for increased research on the problems of rural homes. The large number of local organizations that request speakers and demonstrations make imperative the training of more qualified personnel for extension work. One organization summed up by stating that the most effective method of education for homemaking is the participation of rural women in their organizations at local, regional, and provincial levels and participation in inter-organizational cultural activities, such as human relations institutes and drama and writers' workshops.

Radio and Television Questionnaire. All the radio and television stations questioned stated that they present educational programs to meet the special interest of women. Four radio stations and the two television stations said they placed heavy emphasis on these programs, and four radio stations said that they placed some emphasis on these programs. It was estimated that 57.5 per cent of the radio programs in this field are public service features and 42.5 per cent are commercial programs. In television the programs are divided equally between the two types. Of the personnel employed for radio programs on homemaking, 37.5 per cent are qualified with special background in home economics and 62.5 per cent are not trained. In similar television programs, qualified and unqualified personnel are used equally.

The aspects of homemaking covered by radio and television programs are presented in Table 36. The importance attached to each subject by radio and television stations is presented in Table 37, where the subjects are ranked in order of their importance. In both radio and television, foods and cookery top the list, and little importance is attached to home management and family relations in the planning of programs.

The rural radio audience was estimated to be very large. One station estimated that it reached into 90 per cent of rural homes, another 70 per cent, and another 60 per cent. One station commented that the number of rural homes with radios is almost 15 times

TABLE 36. ASPECTS OF HOMEMAKING COVERED IN RADIO AND TELEVISION PROGRAMS AS REPORTED BY 10 SASKATCHEWAN STATIONS, 1955

Item	Number of Respondents	Number Including Item	Proportion of Respondents
			Per Cent
Foods and cookery	10	10	100
Food preservation	10	10	100
Nutrition and health	10	10	100
Clothing and textiles	10	10	100
Child care	10	9	90
Home management	10	8	80
Budgeting	10	6	60
Family relations	10	5	50
Other	10	5	50

SOURCE: Questionnaires returned to the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life by radio and television stations.

TABLE 37. IMPORTANCE OF VARIOUS ASPECTS OF HOMEMAKING COVERED IN RADIO AND TELEVISION PROGRAMS, AS RATED BY 10 SASKATCHEWAN STATIONS, 1955

Item	First Choice	Second Choice	Third Choice	All Other
Food and cookery	5	1	–	4
Food preservation	–	2	1	7
Nutrition and health	1	2	3	4
Clothing and textiles	2	2	2	4
Child care	1	1	–	7
Home management	–	1	–	7
Budgeting	–	–	1	5
Family relations	1	–	–	4
Other	–	–	–	5

SOURCE: Questionnaires returned to the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life by radio and television stations.

larger than the number of urban homes with radios. Each of two other stations estimated that their audience totalled 116,000 and 120,000 each. Listenership was surveyed by professional agencies for 6 radio stations and one television station. Although radio programs on recipies and the skills of homemaking were found popular, several stations reported that women are interested in musical programs and general programs on cultural subjects and current events.

Problems in the Provision of Homemaking Services

Although the services provided for the rural home by government, commercial agencies, and voluntary organizations in Saskatchewan are many and varied, maximum benefits are not achieved by rural families. Information that is provided does not reach a large enough number of families, and the breadth and quality of the services could be improved.

One problem that plagues the field of extension services for homemakers is the confusion and overlapping of services. Many groups are making separate approaches to homemakers in closely related fields. The groups engaged in extension work thus needlessly repeat organizational steps in reaching consumers. Information presented by commercial companies may be overlapping or conflicting, thus confusing the homemaker. Extension work as a whole is uncoordinated and suffers from the lack of a comprehensive program and direction.

At the local level, extension work in homemaking lacks focus. The multitude of local rural organizations make special requests for information and service without a comprehensive plan, and even if their requests are met, the fund of information is at best fragmentary. Extension agencies likewise make haphazard approaches to local organizations so that in one area homemakers may be well serviced on foods and cooking but poorly serviced on the benefits of electrification. Because of this lack of focus and direction, local groups are handicapped in funnelling information and services to their members, and much information does not reach the individual homemaker.

The shortage of trained home economists and qualified personnel in the field of family relations also limits extension work. Home economics is a science that is broader than the skills and techniques of homemaking. Its broader function has been thus spelled out:

> Home Economics seeks to provide homemakers, present and future, with information, skills, abilities and attitudes that will contribute to more satisfactory personal development and home and family life.
>
> Its central concept is the home as the setting for personal development and family relationships, and it tends more and more to present as functions of the home rather than as isolated subjects or skills, the care of children, family economics, household management, the selection, preparation, utilization and care of food and clothing, and family relationships. Which of these elements are to receive emphasis under given conditions is held to depend upon the real interests and needs of the individuals and families to be reached. Both content and emphasis have varied with the development of our knowledge of the underlying sciences that contribute to home and family life, with the improvement of

> educational procedures for different education levels, and with the changing needs of our changing social and economic order.[11]

Training of increased numbers of home economists and other professional personnel in special courses in the techniques of extension, in-service training of home economists in extension work, and part-time employment of home economists who are living in rural Saskatchewan might be utilized to relieve the shortage of qualified personnel.

The limited content of extension programs also restricts their effectiveness. Devoted largely to the skills of homemaking, extension programs have not tackled the fields of budgeting and money management or the fields of time management and increased efficiency in household management. The frequent practice of farm women's keeping the account books for the farm business requires that they be given every possible technical aid to equip them for this responsibility. The increased participation of farm women in community life heightens the importance of allowing time and energy for other activities within and outside the home.

Finally, extension programs even today are confronted with some reluctance on the part of farm women to discuss or seek aid on problems of the home. The pioneer homemaker solved her problems as best she could with her own resources. Her main objective was the survival of her family under often difficult circumstances. Today the changing rural environment makes new demands on farm women, but many still wage a lone battle. Unaware of resources to assist with family problems or reticent to call upon outsiders for aid with personal matters, many farm women have not recognized the benefits that can be had from extension services. As home economics education is improved in the school system and as the quality and channelling of extension services are improved, however, this understandable resistance will certainly be overcome.

Extension Services in Canada and the United States

Canada

In all Canadian provinces some kind of extension service exists for the rural homemaker. In eight of the ten provinces, this extension work is part of the program of the provincial Department of Agriculture. In Newfoundland, the extension work is administered by the Division of Adult Education of the Department of Education. In Saskatchewan, extension for the homemaker is the responsibility of the division of Women's Services of the University of Saskatchewan. The establishment of extension services in the University was undertaken by its first president, the late Dr. Walter C. Murray, as part of his efforts to make the University a part of the life of the people of Saskatchewan rather than an ivory tower for the few. In Saskatchewan the Provincial Government provides limited extension services for the rural home; for the most part they are provided by the University, but the Provincial Government's Agricultural Representative Service could be integrated with services for the farm home.

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[11] Muriel W. Brown, *With Focus on Family Living: The Story of Four Experiments in Community Organization for Family Life Education*, Vocational Division Bulletin 249, Home Economics Education Series 28, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D.C., 1953.

Extension services in Ontario are conducted by the Home Economics Branch of Extension Services of the Department of Agriculture. This highly developed program is supervised by a director who is a graduate in home economics, and the salaries and travelling expenses of instructors are paid by the Department of Agriculture. The program undertakes to bring extension services to women in their own communities through district home economists. Courses are given in citizenship, cultural activities, clothing and textiles, food and nutrition, health education, home crafts, home furnishings, psychology, and program planning and procedures. While specialists are provided for each course, some difficulties have developed from this extreme specialization in that the demonstrator must repeat the same course throughout the province, may find it monotonous, and therefore lose effectiveness before she has covered the province. It has been suggested that a wider selection of topics suited to the season, the circumstances and wishes of the community, and the stage of development of club activity in the community might overcome this problem.

In Manitoba, the Women's Services of the Division of Extension within the Department of Agriculture is staffed by home economists assigned to districts. Many of these districts include an area two or three times the size of the area of an agricultural representative. The travelling distances require superhuman stamina and reduce the effectiveness of the program. Manitoba's Acting Director of Women's Services stated on the basis of her experience that any service of this type should be organized on a small area basis, for a thorough, concentrated program is more effective than a province-wide service spread too thinly over the population.

Alberta is increasing the number of its district home economists but is having difficulty in finding sufficient staff because of loss of personnel through marriage and competition from other jobs.

Increasingly, extension services in Canada are being amalgamated into one department so that farm and home services may be integrated and broader services offered to farm families. In all provinces the work is handicapped by shortage of staff and meagre budgets. The work could be expanded many times without giving a complete service to homemakers. Extension work is also sometimes hampered by the inability of the programs to keep pace with the broader fields of interest of the Canadian housewife.

In all provinces the voluntary organization, the Women's Institute, has served as the arm of extension services for homemakers. The Women's Institute movement developed first in Ontario in 1897 as a companion organization to the Agricultural Institutes. In Saskatchewan, the organization was called the Saskatchewan Homemakers' Clubs and was formed in 1911 from isolated women's groups in the province. The Homemakers' Clubs developed in close association with the Agricultural Societies; thus the agricultural influence has always been strong, and support of extension services developed naturally in the Homemakers' Clubs. Other voluntary organizations, however, could also avail themselves of existing extension services in the same way as the Homemakers' Clubs.

The United States

In the United States, extension work is carried on as a system of nation-wide rural education through the co-operative efforts of the United States Department of Agriculture and the land grant colleges of the states.[12] Funds are provided by federal, state, and county governments and supplemented in a few states by co-operating organizations. All extension agents work with the whole rural family, although the primary responsibility of the county agricultural agent is to the men, of the home demonstrator to the women, and of the 4-H Club agent to the boys and girls. The goal of this co-operative extension service has been framed in the words, "to help rural people live better." Its objective is a more satisfying life for the rural family and better rural citizenship. As one home demonstration agent said, home demonstration work would not be finished

> . . . until all our farm homemakers so regulate their business of homemaking and so surround themselves with modern equipment as to leave time and energy and enthusiasm for rest and reading and child training and social activities.[13]

As illustrative of the work of this co-operative extension service, some aspects and findings of the extension programs in a number of states will be reviewed briefly. In Minnesota, a county extension committee representing various rural groups in the community outlines the problems and topics that should be covered in the year's program, and sub-committees are established to carry out the major projects.

In Missouri, a "Family Living Workbook" is prepared by extension specialists in home economics to help families plan their work and make group decisions in carrying out their work plan. This workbook is based on the philosophy that a family working together to solve its problems and reach its goals will develop pleasant family relationships and a sense of comradeship that will assure a better life.

The Michigan State College Extension Service has a farm building service that provides plans for farmhouses and plans for homes for seasonal farm help. Good housing makes farming easier, and it is felt that these practical services will pay dividends for years in contentment and happiness. In Michigan, too, a yardstick was developed for measuring home management. The studies of Irma H. Gross have been useful to extension workers in home management throughout the United States and Canada.[14]

In Maine, a survey was undertaken to determine the effectiveness of extension methods in the teaching of home economics. Demonstrations and bulletins were used to introduce new homemaking practices. Of 181 homemakers visited, 56 per cent reported changes in homemaking practices due to extension influences.[15] In a study of extension work at Lafourche, Louisiana, the formal education of the homemaker, the level of living, and farm ownership were found to be significant factors in determining the adoption of new homemaking practices.[10] In Indiana also, a survey of "Home Situations on Different Classes of Land and Effectiveness of the Home Demonstration Program" revealed that participation in extension activities is closely related to the socio-economic status of the family.[11]

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[12] Act of May 8, 1914, c. 79, s. 1, 38 U.S. Stat. 372.

[13] Quoted by Mena Hogan, *A Report on Home Demonstration Work*, Ext. Serv. Cir. 463, Extension Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C., 1950, p. 1.

[14] See Gross, *Measuring Home Management*, *op. cit.*, and Gross and Crandall, *Management for Modern Families*, *op. cit.*

[15] *Effectiveness of Extension Methods of Teaching Home Economics*, Bulletin 305, Extension Service, University of Maine, Orono, Maine, 1942.

* * *

From the programs and studies in other provinces and states, several guides to an effective extension program for rural families emerge. First, planning the program in advance based on community problems, needs, and interests is fundamental. The participation of leaders of voluntary organizations in the central planning and advisory committee ensures that the program will meet the needs of those whom it is designed to serve. Second, the use of all types of teaching methods increases the effectiveness of the program. Demonstrations and meetings with small groups have been found particularly effective. Finally, an integrated approach by all extension workers to the rural family has been found to heighten the effectiveness of the work.

Needs of Saskatchewan Extension Services

This review of existing extension services in the province, of the problems that have emerged, and of extension services in other areas crystallizes the needs that have to be met in Saskatchewan to develop effective extension services for rural families. These needs fall roughly into two categories — needs that affect the content of extension services and needs that affect the means of providing these services.

The content of extension services for homemakers cannot be shaped without accurate knowledge of the problems of the rural family. Greatly increased research on both the material and non-material aspects of living of rural families is needed. With regard to largely material aspects of living, the following subjects would bear further exploration: farm family housing needs and preferences, including planning the farmhouse, use of labour, housing education and attitudes, and tenure aspects of housing; family labour including earnings and expenditures; nutrition and diet; housekeeping practices; home sewing practices; operation of household equipment, especially the values and limitations of less common items like dishwashers and automatic clothes driers and the problem of water supply required by various types of automatic washing machines. With regard to non-material aspects of living, research on the following problems would be helpful: problems of rural adolescents, relationships between husband and wife and parent and child; participation in organizations; religious affiliations and practices; and leisure and recreation. These topics by no means exhaust the fields in which research on problems affecting the family is needed, but they indicate the vast area in which factual information would help to develop a program adjusted to current needs.

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[10] *Extension at Work in Lafourche*, Publication 1054, Division of Agricultural Extension, Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College, Baton Rouge, La., 1950.

[11] S. M. Hunter, L. M. Busche, G. Gallup, and M. C. Wilson, *Home Situations on Different Classes of Land and Effectiveness of the Home Demonstration Program*, Circular 3, Co-operative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics, State of Indiana, Perdue University, and the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Lafayette, Ind., 1941.

At present, the main emphasis in extension work is on the skills and techniques of homemaking. Important as this field is, it is not broad enough to satisfy the interests of the modern rural homemaker. The content of extension work could profitably be broadened to include aid with time and money management and family relationships. The inclusion of these problems in the extension program would not only meet needs that have been expressed by homemakers but would inject a new vitality and appeal into extension work.

Finally, integration of extension work for home and farm is needed. Although the agricultural representative may work primarily with farmers and with boys and a home extension agent primarily with farm women and girls, integrated projects of these groups would emphasize the unity between the farm and the home.

Other needs of extension services relate to the means by which they are provided. Skills and crafts can in many cases be taught by the lay person, but more technical subjects, such as nutrition, child care, psychology, and family relations require trained personnel. Specialists are therefore needed, and an adequate budget is necessary to attract qualified professional people in home economics and other fields. These specialists need to be trained not only in their substantive fields of home economics, family relations, or scientific agriculture, but they also need training in techniques and methods of extension work. The importance of training in psychology and educational method is recognized for teachers; but nowhere in Canada is a full course offered for extension workers, who are really teachers. Some universities offer a few classes in extension work. The shortage of trained extension workers makes imperative the provision of training facilities to assure adequate numbers of qualified extension personnel.

The work of home extension agents and other specialists can be strengthened by the participation of voluntary organizations and their lay leaders in the extension program. Ways need to be found to assure the co-operation of the many voluntary organizations that provide a tested means of reaching rural communities.

To make rural homemakers aware of the potentialities of an extension service, close personal contacts between the home extension agent and the rural homemaker are necessary. The area assigned to the home extension agent must be small enough to permit this kind of communication. To expect extension services for the home to be carried on by a few workers over an area as large as the province of Saskatchewan is to defeat the purposes of the program. Each home extension agent should be expected to maintain contact with no more than 500 to 800 families, and periodic meetings with groups of 12 to 25 homemakers would be ideal.The distances between farm homes and the irregular hours for extension work limit the caseload that a single extension worker can carry effectively. If specialists in the various problems affecting the home are employed, much larger areas can, of course, be serviced.

Although a single extension worker is limited in the number of families he or she can service effectively, the unit of administration for services for the rural home might well be the unit of administration that provides other local services. If an enlarged unit of local government is established around service centers in accordance with the Commission's report on Rural Roads and Local Government, services for the rural home should be provided in this area with several extension workers for one county or modified county as the demand for these services requires.

Finally, community support is essential to the success of an extension program. A local community board, made up of leaders of interested organizations and individuals of special ability or training, could serve in an advisory capacity to the extension program. It could help in initiating and drawing up the program, in publicizing the services, and in maintaining continuous consultation. If these needs of content and approach are met, Saskatchewan will have gone a long way towards providing services to rural homemakers and their families that will help them "to live better."

Summary

Services Provided by Various Agencies

The Federal Government conducts research on social and economic questions of importance to the family. Programs of social security and farm improvement loans foster improvement of living levels. Although the quality of the research is high, its scope and approach are severely limited, since many fields of interest to the home are not covered. The Federal Government regulates and standardizes the quality of food and drugs, but the program to control the qualtiy of other consumer goods might be more fully developed.

The Provincial Government through various departments provides services designed to improve agricultural production, protect the health of families, assist dependent groups, foster education, and encourage electrification. No supervisor of home economics education, however, is employed by the provincial Department of Education. The value of these services to rural families is somewhat lessened because of the lack of co-ordination of the many services at the provincial and local levels.

The Women's Service of the University of Saskatchewan is the only extension agency in the province with a broad range of services for the rural family as a whole, but even these services are limited largely to the skills of homemaking. Lack of field staff and a small budget necessarily limit the influence and program of the division.

Commercial organizations provide a wide range of qualified and valuable research and information related to their particular products. Conflicting information is often presented by competing companies, however, and the homemaker faced with the problem of the best expenditure of her homemaking dollar may be confused. No independent organization exists in Canada, like Consumers Union and Consumers' Research in the United States, to test and evaluate specific products impartially.

Communications media such as the press, radio, television, and libraries are important sources of information on homemaking, but the level of information provided could be considerably raised. The North Central Saskatchewan Regional Library has made books readily accessible to the 28,000 people in its area, but other rural localities suffer from the lack of libraries.

Numerous voluntary organizations, particularly women's organizations, play an important role in spreading information on homemaking and problems of the family. Because of the confidence placed in local leaders chosen by members of the organization, voluntary organizations are in a favoured position to participate in extension work.

From a survey of 21 governmental, commercial, and voluntary organizations with services of special interest to homemakers, numerous problems were identified in spreading information to rural women. These problems existed both within the organizations providing homemaking services and within the rural community. Limited funds, shortage of trained staff, and difficulties in communication were all mentioned. Although the organizations used bulletins as their main approach to rural families, they felt that personal contact was the most effective means. Obstacles within the rural community to effective extension work were the distances between farm homes, poor roads, the large number of rural community organizations, the lack of opportunity for personal contact, and some resistance on the part of the public to new educational programs. The organizations specified a need for increased research on problems of the family and more trained staff.

From a survey of radio and television stations in the province it appeared that their programs, which reach a large rural audience, are devoted mainly to the skills of homemaking with little emphasis on problems and challenges of family relations.

Problems in the Provision of Homemaking Services

Although the services provided for the rural home are many and varied, several problems affect the breadth and quality of information as well as its reaching a maximum number of rural families. Services often overlap and confuse the homemaker. At the local level, extension work lacks focus because of the large number of community organizations and the lack of comprehensive planning by local groups and servicing agencies. The shortage of trained home economists and qualified personnel in the field of family relations restricts the program. No full course of training for extension work exists at any university in Canada. The limited content of extension programs and the neglect of subjects like time and money management and family relations make extension programs fall short of modern needs. Reluctance of farm people to seek or accept aid on problems of the home creates a barrier to the spread of information.

Extension Services in Canada and the United States

In eight of the ten provinces of Canada,extension services for homemakers are administered by the provincial Departments of Agriculture. In Newfoundland they are the function of the Adult Education Division of the Department of Education, and in Saskatchewan they are the responsibility of the Women's

Service of the University. Increasingly, extension services are being amalgamated into one department so that farm and home services can be integrated and broader services offered to farm families. In all provinces the work is handicapped by shortage of staff and meagre budgets. In all provinces also, the voluntary organization, the Women's Institutes (Saskatchewan Homemakers' Clubs), serve as the arm of extension services to the home, but other voluntary organizations could avail themselves of existing extension services in the same way.

In the United States, extension work is carried on as a system of nation-wide rural education through the co-operative efforts of the United States Department of Agriculture and the land grant colleges of the states. All extension agents work with the whole rural family, although the primary responsibility of the agricultural agent is to the men, of the home demonstrator to the women, and of the 4-H Club agent to the boys and girls.

Programs and studies in other provinces and states suggest several guides to an effective extension program for rural families: (1) planning the program in advance based on community needs, problems, and interests and with the participation of leaders of voluntary organizations; (2) use of all types of teaching methods, particularly demonstrations and meetings with small groups; and (3) an integrated approach by all extension workers to the rural family.

Needs of Saskatchewan Extension Services

Needs of Saskatchewan extension services that affect the content of the program are: (1) greatly increased research on the material and non-material aspects of living of rural families in order to shape an effective program; (2) expansion of the field of work beyond the skills and techniques of homemaking to include matters that meet the interests of today's homemaker, such as time and money management and family relationships; (3) integration of extension work for home and farm.

Needs that affect the means by which services are provided include: (1) the training and employment of more home economists and other specialists for extension work; (2) increased participation of voluntary organizations and their lay leaders in the extension program; (3) close personal contacts between the extension worker and the homemaker, which requires a case load for extension work of no more than 500 to 800 homemakers; (4) administration of extension work in an area coterminous with the area for the provision of other local services; and (5) community support for the extension program, which may be achieved through a local community board made up of leaders of interested organizations and individuals of special training and ability to help plan and promote the services.

CHAPTER VIII

Public Proposals on the Rural Family

When rural communities were questioned as to their proposals to meet the problems of rural homes and families in Saskatchewan, they replied with specific solutions to problems of roads, education, markets, or farm income. Their suggestions were largely concerned with the economic and service problems that affect rural families. Proposals of provincial organizations dealt less with specific problems than proposals of communities. Technical consultants working as home economists and home management specialists made specific proposals but not always directed to the problems spelled out by rural people.

The Changing Rural Environment and Its Impact on the Rural Family

Because rural families are living in an environment that has been considerably changed by the mechanization of agriculture and the movement of farm people to urban centers, various proposals were made to help the adjustment of farm families to these new conditions. One farm woman whose family is faced with the high costs of mechanization suggested more co-operative farms. "True, it would be hard to change the way of life for many of these old farmers," she wrote, "but if it were harped on enough, it might convince the younger generation."

Concerned about the movement of farm people to urban centers, the *Saskatchewan Homemakers' Clubs* stressed the need for a "back to the land movement," which could be attained through "smaller farms, irrigation development and all-weather roads." Some consultants urged that farm families be encouraged to remain on the land by provision of all-weather roads, school buses, and electric power.

Those consultants who felt a satisfactory life could be developed in urban centers suggested aid to farm families in making the adjustment to life in villages and towns:

> "More attention should be given to living accommodations in villages, including the provision of adequate schools, storage and repair facilities for farm implements, milk supply, and facilities and activities to occupy spare time."

It was pointed out that parental guidance can build the same basic family values into town life as are desired in country life. Particularly for young people moving to urban centers the transition should be facilitated, one consultant felt, "through experience in any organization which brings young people together, such as 4-H Clubs and Youth Training courses. The YMCA or the YWCA could sponsor courses and social gatherings for them, and church young people's groups could make special efforts to include new people."

In any event, one consultant said, the trend towards movement to town should be recognized as inevitable. In this province, this consultant stated,

> "we have no romantic hereditary ties with the soil. . . . Our settlement has been mainly with the idea of accumulating sufficient surplus to be able to move to a more affable climate or to a center of population where more of the amenities of life were to be found . . . .
>
> "Human beings will try to congregate and there just isn't anything that can be done about it. . . . The natural trend is to the larger community. This may mean early retirement and a move to a warmer climate. It may mean a move to the city or smaller nearby community for a portion of the year or even for commuter farming. . . . The trend should be faced squarely and acknowledged. Neither wishful thinking nor home conveniences nor leisure time will induce farm families to remain in isolation if it is possible for them to make other arrangements."

Family Organization

Family Relationships

Most consultants recommended extension services in family relationships. One cautioned that the need for help in the field of family relationships must first be recognized by the family, but there was fairly general agreement that extension specialists in this field should be added to agencies such as the University Extension Department. Other agencies mentioned, which could help, were the Department of Public Health and its mental health division, along with the church. One consultant felt that the field of family relations was left now mainly to the church, and its efforts had not been too successful. Others felt that no organizations had touched this field, and one added that "people must do this for themselves on the local level."

To stimulate greater interest and activity in family relationships, it was felt that all agencies should be made aware of the family's role in society and of the impact of technology on the family, so that these problems could be considered in all extension activities. This task might be done by a joint conference. Another way of obtaining better understanding would be through the school curriculum, particularly in a reorientation of the social studies courses and by increased emphasis in the curriculum on nutrition and problems of family living for boys as well as girls.

Rural Social Life

With respect to recreation in the rural areas, some consultants felt the home could be used more extensively for recreational activities. Creative recreation within the family, in keeping with the talents of individual family members, should be encouraged. It was felt that training for this type of recreation by extension agencies has been neglected.

More frequently, consultants recommended improved services available to communities and the provision of rural recreation centers. Consultants suggested more "rural drama clubs, country orchestras, inter-community sports competitions." It was suggested that farm meetings "of general interest to all family members might be promoted and recreation could then include children as well as adults who are members of the same family." Other consultants suggested "a center where young people could hold meetings, see pictures, read books or magazines, dance, do crafts" as well as improved local libraries.

The Rural Church

Consultants suggested various measures to increase the effectiveness of the rural church: development of greater congregation loyalty, greater knowledge of the Bible, dynamic leaders with a broad view of present day living, church camps and mobile units, and more work with young people. Finally, it was suggested that the Canadian Council of Churches might take the lead in community planning to eliminate the many varied congregations now existing poorly in villages where resources are sufficient to support only one or two strong church organizations.

Material Level of Living

Housing

The *Department of Mechanical Engineering* of the University's College of Engineering presented a brief on housing, which dealt with the housing problem in the province in general and referred to the increase in home building since 1946. The brief pointed out that no major changes in home construction methods or in the use of new materials are realistic and that costs of housing cannot be expected to be reduced except in so far as housing expectations are limited. This brief did not comment on savings that might be possible through reduced profits or through subsidization but felt that "the problem is one of reducing the man-hours required to produce a home," which means "reducing what is to be provided." The brief contended that there is "no shortage of good plans for housing" and questioned any extension program involving individual assistance on house planning as an inequitable expenditure of public funds.

Consultants, however, recommended more research, more information, and better extension programs in the field of farm housing. Research is needed on building materials and house plans. Better plans are required and in general more reliable information, since information derived exclusively from commercial sales outlets creates doubt and confusion. Extension services should include short courses and should cover both house and farmstead planning. In addition, there should be more individual guidance to farmers planning to build or remodel, according to some consultants.

The farmer's plans for providing housing would be eased if plans were announced regarding the future provision of rural services. In addition, rural municipal councils have a responsibility to promote some simple inexpensive sanitary measures for farm homes. There is a need for more skilled tradesmen and more adequate credit facilities to improve farm housing.

The basic requirement for correcting the housing situation, according to one consultant, is that the "desire to improve must be created." Another referred to "the need for a permanent attitude towards farm living." One pointed to the value that would come from having one "master farmer" in every district set an example in housing as well as in other matters. Again, according to one consultant, housing is a phase of farm living in which the family as a group must develop long-term goals and then plan to use its income accordingly.

Comforts and Conveniences

The *Saskatchewan Women's Co-operative Guild*, in discussing the need for credit for beginning farmers or farmers wishing to expand uneconomic farms, pointed out the related need for decent living levels. This organization recommended the spread to rural homes of modern conveniences available in urban homes.

> "If these facilities . . . are available . . . many more young women would be very happy to live on farms and to bring up their families in a rural community. It would help break up the trend toward town and city."

Trees and Gardens

The *Saskatchewan Horticultural Societies' Association* recommended more irrigation to improve trees and gardens:

> "Irrigation has proved its worth. More education is needed in its use to assure good gardens even in dry years. Greater development of irrigation (dug-outs) would make for greater permanency especially in respect of fruits, perennials and evergreens."

A farm woman consultant recommended encouraging farm beautification:

> "Beautiful grounds are a big factor in making farm life more attractive and more satisfactory to all members of the family. Keeping grounds up requires the help of the whole family and provides a mutual interest that binds the family closer. The children, and particularly adolescents, would be proud of their farm background when mingling with young folk from town. Creating beauty would bring a better sense of values to all and a well-planted farm site would create a sense of permanency."

Nutrition

Fearing that the trend to straight grain production may affect dietary standards of rural families adversely, one consultant recommended that

> "Studies should be made of the existing and anticipated supply of protective foods, storage and distribution of these supplies so as to meet the minimum dietary need. The distribution of the most essential of the protective foods, milk, would require rapid refrigerated transport and good all-weather roads, as well as adequate refrigerated storage and quick distribution from market centers to individual consumers whether in rural or urban areas."

Variations Between Town and Country

One consultant felt that the lower level of living on farms than in urban centers need not affect rural family relations if there were "joint planning" within the family group to deal with the inadequacies on a planned basis. But most consultants listed various measures to reduce the inequalities between rural and urban levels of living. Consultants recommended electrification, improved housing, sanitation systems, and the extension of credit for farm home improvement.

The need to equalize educational opportunity was also stressed. One consultant felt that education is now "away from agriculture. . . . Children are not having their attention concentrated on the occupation of farming. Instead their interests are being 'guided' in the direction of town. . . . (This) lowers the living levels of the farm family for it destroys sound values we naturally have on the farm." Another consultant felt that any changes in conditions were contingent on a sense of permanency in the farm family.

Home Management

Expenditures on the Home or the Farm

Consultants implied that a higher priority should be assigned to expenditures on the farm home than is now generally done. One view was that the proper relationship should be worked out by the whole family. As one consultant stated, "Too often the man seems to take more pride in keeping the farm standards high, thus showing the world of his success." Another added, "There comes a time when an equitable distribution of farm income between home and agricultural equipment is possible if the man realizes the importance of spending on the home."

One consultant recommended competitions for "Master Farm Awards," which would recognize the all-round development of the farm. Another pointed out that if the farmer were given more production information, he could transfer it "into protection, security and health for his family and home." One consultant flatly stated that this question was no business of a Royal Commission, for "what I would deem a necessity another might consider a luxury."

Home Management Services

Virtually all organizations and consultants recommended expanded extension services in home management. The *Saskatchewan Homemakers' Clubs* recommended home service centers and district home economists. The *Women's Service* of the University Extension Department recommended a larger field service, increased staff, and better facilities as well as "more appreciation by policy-making bodies and authorities of the importance of knowledge and skills of homemaking in achieving satisfactory home and community life." The *Canadian Association of Consumers* stressed "the need for reliable consumer information, more effectively assembled and co-ordinated and effectively disseminated." This organization also urged the creation of a Federal Government Consumers' Bureau "comparable in its aims to the Bureau of Home Economics and Human Nutrition of the Federal Government in the U.S.A." It also urged that relevant provincial services and research be closely integrated or co-ordinated with this Bureau and that it function in co-operation with national consumer organizations.

To provide expanded field services, more trained staff would be needed, and consultants recommended increased numbers of training courses and scholarship assistance for home economists. Training might be provided in permanent institutions located at various points in the province, or high school classes might receive their training in summer courses to supplement the teaching of home economics in high schools.

The shortage of trained personnel, it was suggested, could be partially overcome by decentralizing services and co-ordinating these with other agencies at the local or district level. Trained home economists, who have left full-time employment because of marriage, might be utilized on a part-time basis.

More bulletins were also recommended and wider availability of books and magazines on all phases of homemaking. Thus, the *Provincial Library* recommended the expansion of library facilities and greater financial assistance to libraries.

Most consultants felt that marked economies in rural consumer and comfort expenditures could be achieved through improved educational programs. Deploring the lack of information that leads to poor consumer buying, they stated that buying habits are formed at present by high pressure salesmanship and mail order catalogues. More information and better publicity of the material now available would "offset the effects of high pressure salesmanship and glamorous advertising." People are now confused as to what standards to consider when selecting equipment and consumer goods. It was pointed out that better information would not result in less spending, but "better value would be obtained."

With respect to the approach in home management service programs, one consultant referred to the need for a co-ordinated family approach within existing programs. At present, "technical information on poultry . . . is invariably presented to the males, while child psychology information is . . . invariably presented to the females." A co-ordinated approach to the family as a whole would be more sound and effective.

Other recommendations included greater financial support of research, greater co-ordination of the work of local organizations, sponsorship by local organizations of meetings and short courses for the whole community rather than for their members alone, and a provincial advisory committee to the Women's Service, University Extension Department. The *Saskatchewan Homemakers' Clubs* also proposed federal action through price control and subsidies to aid the rural family in meeting the high cost of living.

Summary

The Changing Rural Environment

Various measures were proposed to meet the effect on the farm family of the changing rural environment: co-operative farms; improved rural services; assistance to farm families who have moved away from the farm, particularly farm youth, in adjusting to urban life.

Family Organization

Most consultants recommended extension services in family relationships. Existing governmental agencies could be utilized, a joint conference of voluntary organizations might be called, and the school curriculum could be broadened to include courses on nutrition and family living for both boys and girls.

With respect to rural recreation, consultants urged creative recreation within the family, training of recreation workers, improved community recreational services, and recreation centers.

Measures to increase the effectiveness of the rural church included development of greater congregation loyalty, greater knowledge of the Bible, dynamic leaders, church camps and mobile units, work with young people, and reduction in the number of different congregations in one village.

Level of Living

Recommendations to improve farm housing included increased research and improved extension programs in farm housing. Rural municipalities could aid in the improvement of farm housing by promoting simple sanitary measures and announcing plans for the future provision of rural services. Adequate credit was considered essential. Increased irrigation and general farm beautification through planting of trees and gardens were recommended as well.

To reduce the differences in living levels between urban and rural homes, consultants recommended electrification, improved housing, sanitation systems, and the extension of credit for farm home improvement.

Home Management

All groups and consultants were agreed on the necessity of expanding extension services in home management. Home service centers staffed by district home economists was the chief proposal. Training facilities and scholarships for home economists would be essential to provide the staff required. More bulletins and wider availability of books and publications through regional libraries were recommended. In addition, the following measures were recommended: increased financial support of research, greater co-ordination of work of local organizations, sponsorship by local organizations of meetings and short courses for the community as a whole, and a provincial advisory committee to the Women's Service, University Extension Department.

CHAPTER IX

Conclusions

Problems of the Rural Family as Seen by Rural People

Public opinion on problems of the rural family was presented to the Commission mainly by organizations and consultants. Rural communities did not discuss the family as such but addressed themselves rather to specific problems — markets and prices, education, and so forth — that affect the home and family. The following conclusions therefore represent mainly the thinking of provincial organizations and consultants.

1. *Forces in the changing rural environment have both promoted and deterred higher standards of living for farm people, in the opinion of the rural public.* Generally increased farm incomes and greater interchanges between rural and urban people have fostered rising levels of living. The high costs of mechanization of farming, persistently low farm incomes for a number of families, and uncertainty as to whether the family will remain on the farm, however, deter improvements in material levels of living on the farm.

2. *Changed agricultural technology and a changed pattern of rural recreation have resulted in changed family relationships and roles.* Recreation has turned away from the home and neighbourhood to commercial recreation in urban centers. Activities that involve the family as a whole have been replaced by activities that engage individual family members separately.

3. *The level of living of farm families and particularly the condition of farm housing are determined basically by farm incomes, and it was noted that more than half of all farmers in 1951 had gross incomes of less than $2,500.* Overcrowding and poor insulation, ventilation, and basements were specifically noted, although many farm homes have been improved in recent years. Many farm homes lack essential conveniences and could profit both aesthetically and economically from more trees and gardens.

4. *Expenditures on the farm generally take priority over the needs of the farm home.* Although most consultants agreed that the farm must be strongly established before comfort spending can be undertaken, some raised the question whether the production of incomes from farming is an end in itself or a means to improve family living conditions.

5. *Although many organizations, voluntary, governmental, and commercial, service the homemaker, there is a need for additional information and services on home management.* Aid is needed particularly on budgeting of money, time, and energy; on family life education; and on skills and techniques relating to food, clothing, and homes.

Living Standards of Farm Families Through the Years

6. *Study of the evolution of living standards of farm families from pioneer times to the modern period of mechanization and urbanization reveals the close relation of living standards to economic conditions.* Housing, home conveniences, fuel, water, food, and means of transportation were determined by the resources available and by farm income. Even when improved technology made available modern conveniences, most farm families could not afford them.

Amenities of Family Living Today

7. *At the end of 1953, rural Saskatchewan suffered from a minimum housing shortage of more than 16,800 dwellings, with a supplementary need to alleviate crowding and obsolete accommodation for an additional 62,485 dwellings.* The provision of 16,800 houses would mean homes for about 61,500 rural residents, while additional homes to fill the supplementary need would affect another 217,000 residents. Although Farm Improvement Loans are available for repair or remodelling of farm homes, Saskatchewan farmers have used these loans mainly for improvements to the farm and especially for purchase of implements because of the priority given to production needs over the needs of the farm home.

8. *In 1951, 25 per cent of rural homes were crowded (number of persons exceeded number of rooms in the dwelling) and 25 per cent of rural homes were in need of major repair.* Among selected provinces, Saskatchewan followed Alberta and Manitoba in the high proportion of rural homes that were crowded. Except for Alberta, Saskatchewan had the largest proportion of homes requiring major repair.

9. *Of all the provinces excluding only Newfoundland, Saskatchewan ranked lowest in percentage of farm homes possessing piped-in water supply and the conveniences made possible by it, such as flush toilets.* Although Saskatchewan's most notable deficiency in 1951, in comparison to farm areas elsewhere, was in the extent of electrification, a great expansion in rural electrification has occurred in the last four years. It is expected that by the end of 1956, over one-third of the farms in the province will be serviced by electricity. This development will greatly affect the availability of other amenities, such as refrigeration.

10. *Material levels of living vary in different areas of the province.* The south and central census divisions are high in percentage of farm homes possessing electricity, piped-in water, and automobiles, while the northern divisions are low. The extent of mechanization of agriculture, an important determinant of farm income, is clearly related to the possession of home conveniences.

11. *Urban homes are better equipped with home conveniences than rural homes.* The larger the urban center the larger the proportion of dwellings that have conveniences. A field study made by the Commission in 1953 showed that when farmers moved into a village or town, they improved their material level of living substantially. Possession of refrigerators rose from 5 to 82 per cent of families after their move to town, piped-in

water supply from 8 to 55 per cent, and electric or gas ranges from 3 to 39 per cent. This increase in amenities may be related to the lower cost of supplying services — water and electricity — in urban centers.

12. *Rural non-farm homes are not appreciably better off than farm homes in items like flush toilets; non-farm families are less well off with respect to telephones and radios.* The serious rural non-farm problem of water and sewage facilities raises a question as to the ability of local government in small centers to provide these services.

Family Relationships in the Rural Family

13. *Broad economic and social changes have affected the characteristics of farm families and their location.* The size of the average farm family has decreased, although Saskatchewan rural families in 1951 were still larger than urban families. The number of families has increased, and people are marrying at younger ages than in the past. Nevertheless, despite the many new households being formed and the lower age of marriage, the total rural population is declining.

Greater mobility of farm families, movement of farm families to urban centers, and increased opportunities for recreation and community work outside the home have encouraged individual rather than family activities. Increasingly, functions that once were the family's are being transferred to other institutions.

14. *Changes in farm family relationships can be measured by comparing present-day family organization and relationships with those prevailing in farm families in the past.* For the purposes of comparison, the following aspects were measured:

(a) Family integration or "wholeness" of family activity and thinking.

(b) Division of labour along sex and age lines among the various members of the family.

(c) Father - centered decision making.

(d) Allocation of income by the father.

(e) Contacts with relatives outside the immediate family.

(f) Continuity of the family in farming.

It is assumed that the earlier farm family scored 100 on each aspect of family relationships for the purpose of this study.

15. *Compared with an assumed score of 100 for the earlier farm family, the score of modern farm families for integration as measured by shared activities was found to be 67.7.* The degree of family integration was found to be related to the population trend in the area, the families from the moderately depopulated areas having a lesser degree of family integration than those in the other areas. Stronger family integration was also found in families engaged in grain farming than in families in mixed farming or livestock production. Family integration is affected as well by the stage of the family life cycle, the families in the older child stage naturally showing less integration.

16. *Compared with the assumed score of 100 for the earlier family, the score of modern farm families for family labour was 45.1.* The

group of families covered in this study thus did not adhere strictly to the pattern of clear-cut division of labour along age and sex lines that was assumed to be characteristic of farm families in the past. The earlier pattern of division of labour was found more characteristically on straight grain farms and in the younger child stages of the family life cycle, when the children have more time for farm chores.

17. *Compared with the assumed score of 100 for the earlier family, the score of modern farm families for father-centered decision making was 38.6.* Most of the families interviewed fell far short of the strong dominance by the father assumed for the family of an earlier day.

18. *Compared with the assumed score of 100 for the earlier family, the score of modern farm families for father-dominated income allocation was 50.4.* Eighty-four of the 160 farm wives interviewed considered the husband "the" income earner on the farm, and it was generally considered unavoidable that the husband allocate the income because income is received irregularly. Farm children contributed considerable unpaid labour. In many cases the father planned to assume responsibility for establishing the children economically.

19. *Compared with the assumed score of 100 for the earlier family, the score of modern families for close kinship contacts was 44.9.* The families studied generally conformed to the pattern of close and frequent contacts with relatives characteristic of the earlier family. But these families extended less help to older relatives not living on the farm and had fewer relatives living in the household than was customary in the past. Very few of the families studied extended such help, which probably reflects the growth of old age pensions and other programs of public assistance.

20. *Compared with the assumed score of 100 for the earlier family, the score of the modern farm family for continuity on the land was 60.3.* The families revealed strong resemblance to the earlier family pattern of encouraging children to remain in farming. Family continuity on the land was closely related to the level of income of the family; the more prosperous a family was, the more it reflected the traditional ideals about helping the next generation to continue on the land. This is partly a result of economic capacity to help the children, of course.

21. *No general association was found between the decline in family patterns typical of the earlier family and population trends on an area basis.* The one exception was in the case of family integration in the moderately depopulated area. Family relationships in moderately depopulated areas would bear further study.

22. *In the group of families studied, grain farm families, contrary to expectation, seemed to be the stronghold of traditional family characteristics, at least with respect to family integration and family labour.* The families engaged in mixed farming and livestock production were much less traditional in their behaviour, and this may result in a greater probability that children in these types of farming will tend towards urban occupations. Further research of this finding is needed.

23. *On the basis of its studies and observations, the Commission believes that the type of farm family that prevailed in the past is disappearing.* As means of transportation

and communication have been improved, urban ideas and influences enter the farm home. In the emerging rural family, family objectives are less predominant. Family functions have been taken over by agencies in town and city that begin to fill needs ranging from recreation to worship. Additional studies are needed to know in detail the significance of these changes. The family does not necessarily become less important. On the contrary, the changes may mean more gain than loss; they may provide a new basis for family solidarity and relationships within the family to enrich the lives of its members.

Roles of the Rural Homemaker

24. *The many roles of the rural homemaker have real economic and psychological importance for the farm occupation.* The homemaker welds the family together to work for goals that benefit the family and occupation. In addition, she carries on important managerial, housekeeping, and child care functions and also serves as farm helper in many cases.

25. *A survey of members of the Saskatchewan Homemakers' Clubs revealed:*

(a) That the majority of Homemakers processed substantial amounts of food, cared for vegetable gardens, and made some clothing for the family.

(b) That this group of Homemakers showed little awareness of the possibilities of home management techniques, such as planning meals in advance or budgeting. Little remodelling of homes had been done to provide efficient work areas and convenient living quarters, perhaps because the majority faced heavy expenses of caring for and educating a growing family. Regular health care was not common except for dental examinations for the children.

(c) That this group of Homemakers derived new ideas for homemaking from their leisure activities of reading books and magazines and listening to the radio. Their community activities, undertaken by most for enjoyment, community improvement, or educational purposes, also enriched their lives and expanded their skills as homemakers.

26. *If these Homemakers, who were better off economically than the average farm couple in the province, face problems in homemaking, it is certain that more disadvantaged farm households have even more difficulties.* These Homemakers represented a group established in farming, and their homes were larger and better equipped than the average.

27. *Rural families continuously face complex economic, social, and psychological problems for which services are needed.* In part, these problems are related to broad external changes in society, involving changing farm size and organization, population shifts, and changing roles of women. To assist families in the solution of their problems a wide range of family services is essential.

Services for the Rural Family

28. *Numerous agencies provide services to aid the rural family:*

(a) The Federal Government, through its various departments, conducts research and issues bulletins related to problems of the family and, through its family allowance, old age pension, and farm credit programs, bolsters the economic position of the family. Although the quality of the research is high, its scope is severely limited, since many fields of interest to the homemaker are not covered. The Federal Government regulates and standardizes the quality of food and drugs, but the program to control the quality of other consumer goods might be more fully developed.

(b) The Provincial Government provides general educational services of value to the family as well as specialized services for the family in the fields of health, welfare, agriculture, the arts, and rural electrification. No supervisor of home economics education, however, is employed by the Department of Education. Improved co-ordination of these services at the provincial and local levels would greatly enhance their effectiveness.

(c) In the University of Saskatchewan is located the division of Women's Service, the only extension agency with a broad range of services for the rural family as a whole. Its services have been limited to the routines of homemaking largely because of limited budget and lack of staff.

(d) Commercial organizations are providing a wide range of qualified and valuable research and information related to their particular products. This information is naturally affected by the companies' desire to sell their products, and the homemaker may be confused by conflicting information as to the best expenditure of her homemaking dollar. No independent organization exists in Canada, like Consumers Union or Consumers' Research in the United States, to test and evaluate specific products impartially.

(e) Means of public information — the press, radio, television, and libraries — provide great opportunities for bringing information to the rural family. The information provided by radio and television on problems of homemaking could be broadened, as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation has done in including programs on family relationships and mental health. Farm broadcasts might sometimes be addressed more directly to the interests of the homemaker. The blanketing of the province with regional libraries like the North Central Saskatchewan Regional Library would provide a valuable resource to rural families.

(f) Numerous voluntary organizations, particularly women's groups, play an important role in spreading information on homemaking. They can provide the personal contact among neighbours and friends that leads to effective extension work, and local leaders can gauge the needs of communities and families accurately.

29. *Despite the vast array of agencies providing services to the rural family, adequate services are not assured.* A survey of 21 governmental, commercial, and voluntary organizations providing services to the family and a survey of radio and television programs on problems of the family revealed numerous problems: limited funds, shortage of trained staff, and difficulties in com-

munication because of distances between farm homes, poor roads, and lack of opportunity for personal contact with homemakers.

30. *The content of extension services for the rural home is not broad enough to meet modern needs.* There is need for the inclusion of subjects like time and money management and family relations.

31. *The agency potentially most able to provide research facilities, technical skills, and extension skills for a broadened extension program is the division of Women's Service in the University of Saskatchewan.*

32. *Local advisory boards should be established.* In order to relate the program of extension services effectively to farm families and communities, local community boards, made up of leaders of interested organizations and individuals of special training and ability, should serve in an advisory capacity in the establishment and administration of the service.

33. *The case load in an expanded extension service for rural families should be small enough to allow the home extension agent to make frequent home visits and to establish firm personal contacts.* The unit of administration should be coterminous with the area for the provision of other local services.

34. *An expanded extension service will require trained personnel.* Since no university in Canada provides full training for extension workers, courses need to be developed for training in the techniques of extension. An in-service training program would help to meet the shortage of qualified personnel also. In addition, trained home economists who are living in rural Saskatchewan could be employed on a part-time basis.

35. *An integrated extension program is necessary.* The goal of extension work with the family should be a more satisfying life for the rural family and improved rural citizenship — to help rural people to live better. To this end, extension agents should work co-operatively with the entire rural family. Although the agricultural representative may work primarily with farmers and boys and the home extension agent with farm women and girls, integrated projects of these groups will foster farm and home planning and emphasize the unity between the farm and the home.

36. *Key in the success of a vital program of extension services for rural families is the attitude of rural men and women towards the program.* Recognition that problems pertaining to the home and family merit study and guidance like other problems in rural life is essential for improved living standards and happy family relationships.

Public Proposals on Rural Homes and Families

37. *Public proposals to help families adjust to the changing rural environment included the formation of co-operative farms, improved rural services, and assistance to farm youth in adjusting to urban life.*

38. *Consultants recommended the provision of extension services in family relations.* Existing agencies could provide this service, and a broadened school curriculum to include courses on nutrition and family living would be valuable.

39. *Recommendations to improve farm housing included extension of adequate amounts of credit,*

increased research, and improved extension programs in housing.

40. *All groups and consultants were agreed on the necessity of expanding extension services in home management.* Home service centers staffed by district home economists was the chief proposal. Training facilities and scholarships for home economists were proposed to provide the required staff. More bulletins and wider availability of books and publications through regional libraries were also recommended.

CHAPTER X

Recommendations

The Commission's analysis has shown that the changing rural environment in Saskatchewan has greatly affected the rural family and home as it has affected all aspects of rural society. In view of the importance of the family to the happiness and security of the people, aid is necessary to help the family adjust to changes in the environment. Through an effective adjustment the rural family can improve its material level of living and realize more satisfactory relationships among its members. The Commission's recommendations are designed to help this adjustment and strengthen the rural family.

The Commission recommends:

Recommendation No. 1. That in view of the basic importance of family income to the conditions of rural living, public policy be directed increasingly to ways and means of raising income on low-income farms with particular reference to implementing Commission recommendations in its reports on Agricultural Credit and Farm Income.

Recommendation No. 2. That consideration be given to provincial and federal assistance to communities for the financing of construction of water and sewage systems where warranted by population potential.

Recommendation No. 3. That the Saskatchewan Power Corporation continue its program of rural electrification with increased emphasis on bringing power to lower income farms and facilitating the purchase and use of a broader range of home conveniences.

Recommendation No. 4. That federal, provincial, or local governments co-operate in the development of a rural housing program involving research, extension, and credit. Consideration might be given to expanding the coverage of the National Housing Act to include aid for the construction of rural homes and thus help in the elimination of inequities between rural and urban housing.

Recommendation No. 5. That the Federal Government institute an agency for the development and regulation of comprehensive standards and labelling of consumer goods.

Recommendation No. 6. That private radio and television stations be encouraged to follow the leadership of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in broadening their treatment of problems of the home and family by presenting programs on family relationships in line with modern thinking on mental health and by raising the level of programs for the homemaker in general.

Recommendation No. 7. That to raise the level of education for homemaking in the schools of the province, a home economics supervisor be employed by the Department of Education.

Recommendation No. 8. That, in view of the need for more basic information about farm family relationships and the changes that are occurring in the broad social and economic environment, further studies similar to that conducted by this Commission be undertaken as a basis for expanded services to the farm family.

Recommendation No. 9. That in order to co-ordinate services already available and to extend services to the rural home in more equitable relation to its position in the farm partnership, the Government of Saskatchewan, through appropriate agencies, provide the service of Home Extension Agents to Saskatchewan homes.

Recommendation No. 10. That in order to provide the necessary qualified staff for this service, pre-service training in extension work should be provided at the University of Saskatchewan, and an in-service training program should be instituted.

Recommendation No. 11. That in order to alleviate the shortage of qualified personnel for services to rural homes and families, home economists living in rural Saskatchewan be employed on a part-time basis.

Recommendation No. 12. That the necessary funds be provided to the Women's Service of the University of Saskatchewan to enable this agency to provide the services of specialists in home management, family relations, interior decorating, and other matters to the home extension field service as it expands.

Recommendation No. 13. That in order to work out the details of administration and a program of services to rural families, these services first be instituted as a pilot project under the following conditions:

(a) The project be established in an area of stable population where mixed farming is carried on.

(b) The project be established in an area where sufficient interest has been demonstrated by the communities themselves.

(c) The administrative area for the pilot project be coterminous with the larger area surrounding a service center recommended for the unit of local government in the Commission's report on Rural Roads and Local Government. If enlarged areas for the administration of local government are not promptly defined, an equivalent area could be designated for the pilot project.

(d) The case load for each home extension agent be limited to 500 to 800 interested families. If specialists are utilized, a larger number of families can be served.

(e) An Advisory Council be appointed by the Provincial Government, consisting of representatives of related government services, the Women's Service of the Department of Extension at the University, and a weighted representation of lay persons in the area, who because of their ability, interest, and experience know the needs of the area, to establish and test the proposed service.

(f) Care be taken to ensure that the supervisor of the pilot project is a person of outstanding qualifications and ability who might later become supervisor of the expanded service.

(g) The co-operation of the Agricultural Representative Service be enlisted and that some sharing of office space, office help, and transportation be considered.

(h) Because of their experience in this field, the Women's Service of the Department of Extension at the University provide secretarial services and a central office for the Advisory Council.

(i) Within three years after the pilot project has been in operation, the Advisory Council shall recommend the type of program to be instituted for the province as a whole.

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APPENDIX I

SUPPORTING DATA FOR ILLUSTRATIONS

Table 1. (Data for Figures 1 and 2)

INDEX OF MATERIAL POSSESSIONS FOR OCCUPIED FARM DWELLINGS, BY CENSUS DIVISION, SASKATCHEWAN, 1951

Census Division	Index of Material Possessions	Data Utilized in Computing Index			
		Number of Occupied Farm Dwellings	Piped-in Water	Electricity	Automobile
			Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
1	146	4,890	10.3	29.1	72.4
2	136	4,465	8.6	32.8	62.5
3	129	4,750	9.8	26.0	56.2
4	114	2,855	9.6	19.1	51.3
5	106	7,070	5.6	20.2	72.6
6	145	6,660	10.1	30.8	68.0
7	119	4,840	6.7	29.2	59.8
8	152	4,595	12.7	28.8	60.3
9	60	8,375	1.9	9.8	57.4
10	79	6,360	2.9	17.7	58.8
11	124	4,655	7.6	27.2	64.9
12	116	4,305	8.2	25.2	51.8
13	86	4,470	5.4	15.0	55.2
14	74	9,580	3.8	16.4	46.5
15	85	10,320	4.0	21.1	49.6
16	57	6,655	2.5	10.9	44.5
17	68	4,640	3.3	14.5	44.8
18	27	485	1.0	5.2	21.6
Province	100	99,970	6.0	21.0	56.8

SOURCE: *Census of Canada*, special tabulation by Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

Table 2. (Data for Figure 2)

INDEX OF MECHANIZATION FOR OCCUPIED FARMS, BY CENSUS DIVISION, SASKATCHEWAN, 1951

Census Division	Index of Mechanization	Data Utilized in Computing Index		
		Number of Occupied Farms*	Total Value of Farm Machinery	Average Value per Occupied Farm
			$	$
1	122	5,516	31,459,276	5,703
2	122	5,455	31,157,031	5,712
3	104	6,124	29,887,826	4,880
4	79	3,724	13,753,222	3,693
5	98	7,611	35,152,564	4,619
6	124	7,353	42,927,961	5,838
7	100	6,020	28,237,714	4,691
8	107	6,427	32,292,372	5,024
9	85	8,714	34,579,626	3,968
10	96	6,625	29,857,084	4,507
11	104	5,588	27,203,456	4,868
12	108	5,146	26,087,863	5,070
13	108	5,252	26,669,578	5,078
14	93	9,743	42,711,412	4,384
15	98	10,674	49,113,603	4,601
16	78	6,740	24,598,543	3,650
17	81	4,811	18,370,980	3,819
18	68	495	1,584,549	3,201
Province	100	112,018	525,644,660	4,693

SOURCE: *Census of Canada*, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

* Figures are for occupied farms rather than occupied farm dwellings as in Table 1.

Table 3. (Data for Figure 3)

PROPORTION OF OCCUPIED FARMS WITH AUTOMOBILES AND MOTOR TRUCKS, BY CENSUS DIVISION, SASKATCHEWAN, 1951

Census Division	Number of Occupied Farms*	Farms with Automobiles		Farms with Motor Trucks	
		Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
1	5,516	3,708	67	2,212	40
2	5,455	3,180	58	3,150	58
3	6,124	3,163	52	3,612	59
4	3,724	1,759	47	1,852	50
5	7,611	5,335	70	1,787	23
6	7,353	4,943	67	3,603	49
7	6,020	3,276	54	3,316	55
8	6,427	3,462	54	4,081	63
9	8,714	4,755	55	2,128	24
10	6,625	3,756	57	2,259	34
11	5,588	3,214	58	2,705	48
12	5,146	2,676	52	2,981	58
13	5,252	2,934	56	2,676	51
14	9,743	4,285	44	3,985	41
15	10,674	5,190	49	4,583	43
16	6,740	2,881	43	2,444	36
17	4,811	2,265	47	1,751	36
18	495	134	27	152	31
Province	112,018	60,916	54	49,277	44

SOURCE: *Census of Canada*, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

* These figures are for occupied *farms* since the special tabulation did not show motor truck data for occupied farm *dwellings*.

APPENDIX II

DEFINITIONS USED IN THE 1951 CENSUS OF CANADA

Rural and Urban

Prior to the 1951 Census, the population residing within the boundaries of incorporated cities, towns, and villages, regardless of size, was classified as "urban" and the remainder as "rural." In the 1951 Census the aggregate size of the population rather than provincial legal status was the main criterion for the rural-urban definition. The urban population in 1951 included all persons residing in cities, towns, and villages of 1,000 population and over, whether incorporated or not, as well as the population of all parts of census metropolitan areas. The 1951 rural-urban definition had the advantage of creating a uniform line of demarcation between rural and urban populations. This was not the case formerly because of the varying laws of incorporation among the provinces.

Farm and Non-Farm

Dwellings, households, and families were classified as "farm" or "non-farm" depending upon whether or not they were situated within the boundaries of (or resident on) a farm. A farm, for census purposes, was defined as a holding on which agricultural operations were carried out and which was (1) three acres or more in size, or (2) from one to three acres in size with agricultural production in 1950 amounting to $250 or more.

Dwelling

A dwelling was defined as a structurally separate set of living premises, with a private entrance from outside the building, or from a common hallway or stairway inside. The entrance was not to be through anyone else's living quarters. The terms "dwelling," "dwelling units," and "home" are used interchangeably in the 1951 Census publications.

Crowded Household

A crowded household was defined as one in which the number of persons exceeds the number of rooms contained in the dwelling.

Need for Major Repair

A dwelling is classed in need of major repair if it possesses any one of the following defects: (1) sagging or rotting foundations, indicated by cracked or leaning walls, (2) faulty roof or chimney, (3) unsafe outside steps or stairways, (4) interior badly in need of repair.

Water Supply

For census purposes, piped water was defined as water the flow of which could be controlled by means of a tap. Water from a hand pump located within the dwelling was not considered as piped running water. "Inside" means inside the dwelling unit.

Shared Use of Facilities

Shared use of bath or toilet facilities means *shared with another household*, and does not extend to cases where the facilities are used in common by members of the family and lodgers or servants within the same household. For example, where common toilet facilities were provided for a group of dwellings, as in some types of low-cost emergency housing projects, each dwelling was considered as having shared use of toilet facilities. (The data in the tables throughout Chapter IV include shared as well as exclusive use of flush toilets.)

Lighting Facilities

"Electricity (power line source)" refers to cases where the electricity was conveyed by transmission lines from a central generating source serving the community.

"Electricity (home generated source)" covers all cases where the dwelling was lighted by electricity generated on the property.

(The two categories of electricity were combined in the tables throughout Chapter IV of this report.)

Refrigeration Facilities

These facilities were classified as mechanical (electric or gas), icebox, and other. The category "other" included spring houses, well coolers, and ice houses with storage space for perishable foods. It did not, however, include such sources of refrigeration as window boxes for winter use, root cellars, open springs, and basements.

Cooking Facilities

The type of range or stove on which the household did most of its cooking was reported. "Other miscellaneous types" included small grills and burners, cookers, fireplaces, etc., as well as dwellings with no cooking facilities, such as may be found in apartment hotels.

Heating Equipment

Respondents were asked to state the principal heating equipment in use in the dwelling, and any secondary or supplementary source of heating. It was stipulated, however, that the supplementary heating equipment must be used primarily for heating purposes. A cook stove which supplied heat incidentally, or a fireplace used mainly for ornamental purposes, was not classified as supplementary heating equipment.

Provision was made on the housing document for "central heating plant" as one type of heating equipment. It was the intention that this category be limited to homes heated from a central outside source. In the city of Winnipeg, for example, 4,785 dwellings were reported with this form of heating.

Central heating as defined above is relatively new in Canada, being found only in certain sections of a few cities. Probably due to this fact, some enumerators interpreted it to mean a furnace located in the basement of an apartment building and supplying heat to all the dwelling units in the building. In view of the small number of dwellings with "central heating" and because of occasional misinterpretation of this type of heating equipment on the part of some enumerators, figures for central heating and furnace heating were combined in the relevant tables of the Census publications.

Living Conveniences

The data on living conveniences relate to the number of households possessing washing machines, telephones, radios, vacuum cleaners, or passenger automobiles and do not represent the number of these articles. Washing machines or telephones provided for the common use of tenants in a multiple dwelling structure were credited to the owner, provided he lived in the building. "Radio" means a house radio — not a car radio.

APPENDIX III

SAMPLE AND METHODS USED FOR FAMILY ORGANIZATION STUDY

A portion of the area sample developed originally for the study on Movement of Farm People was utilized for studying variations in family organization, both for theoretical reasons and for practical, administrative reasons.

A stratified random sample (N = 25) was taken of 144 rural municipalities that were most consistent in their population change over a 20-year period, 1931 to 1951.[1] The rural municipalities were divided into quartiles according to their population trends — (1) extreme depopulation, (2) moderate depopulation, (3) stable (unchanging population, and (4) increased population. On the basis of a table of random numbers, one township and one alternate township were selected in each rural municipality. (The alternate selections had to be used in two cases where the first township drawn did not meet a minimum density of population — 1.5 persons or more per square mile.)

To these areas, already being canvassed for the Movement of Farm People study, a quota of farm wives was assigned for the family study. The goal was to interview 40 women for each quartile or population-trend area. These were mothers of families in which at least one child between 6 and 18 years was in residence.

The procedure was as follows: usually four interviewing teams went into each township. Since the quota of family interviews was 8 for each of 5 sample townships, each team was assigned two interviews in its quadrant of the township. Interviews had to be taken as families occurred which met the criteria — availability of the mother for the interview and at least one child from 6 to 18 in age. (In order to meet the random assumptions necessary for probability statistics, no individual discretion could be permitted in selecting families.) In practice some townships, particularly in the depopulated areas, did not have 8 families that could meet the defining criteria, so that the quota had to be correspondingly increased for the remaining townships in the stratum.

The practical reasons for capitalizing upon the Movement of Farm People sample were mainly those of economy. By gathering data concurrently with the larger study, the cost of the family research was substantially lowered. Since the Commission interviewers usually worked in teams, husband and wife could be interviewed at the same time by different persons.

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[1] It may be well to raise a question regarding the assumption made in using the stratified sample that population trends would be a sensitive indicator of technological changes in agriculture. The variations in population trends in Saskatchewan may be just as much, if not more, a function of local geography, climate, soil, and crop conditions as of the impact of mechanization and technical innovation. (When census divisions were ranked by extent of mechanization and depopulation, a rank-order correlation of + .505 was found, significant at the 3 per cent level. In other words, about 25 per cent of the depopulation appears to be explained by mechanization.)

The theoretical reasons for using the sample center around the possible effects of population trends upon family organization and home management. It was thought a change in family patterns might be one of the effects of population movement, particularly where it was consistent in its long-time trend. (Population changes themselves were assumed to be one of the most sensitive indicators of the impact of agricultural change, generally.) For other variables to be studied (type and size of farm, income, and so forth) it was thought advantageous to interview families from areas that had a long history of population change in a consistent direction; it was thought less efficient to try to study the effects of such factors in areas marked by very erratic changes. By interviewing the farm wife, the Commission sought the opinions of a key individual from the standpoint of economic operations of the farm, the family's level of living, its integration, and other organizational aspects of the family. She is also undoubtedly a potent influence in shaping for the children the mental outlook which determines their attitudes toward such matters as continuing in agriculture.

By taking interviews only in families where there was at least one child between 6 and 18 years of age in residence, the sample was controlled to some extent, eliminating two kinds of extreme situations — that of the recently married or childless couple and that of the older couple whose children had all left home. At the same time the age range (6 to 18) for children permitted enough variation among families so that some conclusions could be made about the effect of several different stages of the family life cycle, such as the child-bearing, child-rearing, and older child stages.

The procedure in starting the interview was to inquire whether the wife had heard of the Commission. If not, a sentence or two of explanation was offered. Then it was mentioned that, among other problems, the Commission was interested "in the ways various families do some of the things on the farm." If a study on the family had to be justified further with the individual respondent, the following approach was used: "(1) The Royal Commission is investigating various problems — markets, credit, roads, and so on. (2) But most of these reflect right back to the family. (3) Yet we have little information about families in Saskatchewan. (4) Hence this study is a useful addition to our other fact-finding." This explanation facilitated acceptance by the wife, if there was any intitial hesitation about being interviewed. Such cases were rare, however.

Utilizing a questionnaire[2] to guide the interview and to ensure systematic recording, the Commission representative started his talk with the farm wife by inquiring how she and her husband had gotten started in farming, what kind of aid they had had, and from whom. Then the subject of conversation was changed to division of work duties among the family members and the way in which decisions were made by the husband, the wife, both parents together, the children themselves (for some decisions), or perhaps even by the whole family as a unit. Other questions concerned the distribution of income among family members, the kinds of activities in which the family participated as a group, the expectations and attitudes of the children towards farming as an occupation, and the frequency of contacts the family had with other relatives. In all, there were at least 60 specific questions posed during the interview, all concerned with some phase of the family's organization and functioning.

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[2] See Appendix V for the questionnaire.

APPENDIX IV

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 160 FAMILIES IN THE FIELD STUDY

In this appendix is presented a brief description of the 160 families who were studied in the Commission field survey in 1953. The average size of the household was 5.28 persons. There were only 13 families who had relatives other than children living with them. The average age of the farmer was 44 years and of his wife 38 years. In only 13 cases was it reported that the wife was older than her husband. The stage of the family life cycle was determined for 156 of the families, revealing that 41 were still in the "child-bearing" stage, with the majority of the children 6 years of age or under (they had to have at least one child over that age to be included in the sample). As would be expected, the largest number, 88 of the families, were in the "child-rearing" stage, with the majority of their children from 7 through 14 years of age. The "older child" stage (majority of children aged 15 through 20) characterized 27 of the families.

Out of the total sample, 30 families had had children move away from home within the last five years. Eighty-six of the families reported that neighbouring families had departed within the last five years, but over half felt that this loss had not changed things for them particularly, either socially or in working the farm. Seventeen, however, felt that this movement had affected them greatly, and 23 indicated they felt the loss to some, if not a vital, extent.

Ethnic backgrounds of the family were not determined directly; however, it was found that a sizeable number (67 of the families) used another language besides English in the home to some extent. The other language was identified as Russian or Ukranian in 30 cases, German in 25 cases, and French in 5 cases. The other responses were distributed over Hungarian, Polish, Czech, and Norwegian.

Religious traditions were reflected by recording the religion of the parents of the wife and husband. The responses indicated wide variety: for the husband's parents — Roman Catholic 45, United Church 18, Lutheran 17, Anglican 12, Protestant (no specific denomination named) 19, Greek Orthodox 12, and the rest distributed among 11 different denominations; for the wife's parents — Roman Catholic 42, United Church 25, Lutheran 18, Protestant (no specific denomination named) 14, Greek Orthodox 13, and the rest distributed among 14 other groups. Of interest is the extent of religious homogeneity reflected in the families. In 90 cases both husband and wife came from the same denominational background. There was interdenominational marriage in 68 families, but in many of these cases the respective denominations were not of greatly different orientation.

There was a high level of ownership among the 160 families. Only 12 were full renters; there were 82 full owners and 65 part owners. On the type-of-farm index developed by the Commission for other studies, 53 of the farms were classed as "livestock specialty," 34 were used for mixed farming, 35 were "grain specialty," and 19 were straight grain farms. (No type-of-farm index could be computed for 19 of the farms because of scanty information about the livestock and crops on those farms.) The mean average size of farm was 3.72 quarter-sections of land. The modal size was 2 quarters, with only 12 farms larger than 6 quarters.

Only 8 of the 160 families lived on their farms less than four months out of the year. Almost all the farms were fairly close to the town where the family went for most of the things they needed to buy. Fifty-three of the families lived within 5 miles of town, 52 from 6 to 10 miles, and 28 from 11 to 15 miles. There were 18 families, however, who had to travel from 16 to 20 miles for supplies and services, and 9 who had to go an even greater distance.

APPENDIX V

SUPPLEMENTARY FEMALE INTERVIEW[1]

Respondent Identification .... Date .... Initial ....

Others present during interview ....

R.M. .... Twnshp. .... Rg. .... Sample area ....

Age (Interviewer's Estimate)

15 - 20	21 - 25	26 - 40	41 - 55	56 - 70	71 and over
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

The Royal Commission is interested in the ways various families do some of the things on the farm. Your answers to the following questions will help us.

1. How did you and your husband get started in farming? ....
2. Did your parents or your husband's parents help you in getting started in farming? Yes .... No ....
3. (If so) What kind of help did you get from your parents? ....
4. Did you get this help because you were the oldest, youngest, or for any other special reason? Yes .... No .... Comment: ....
5. Did you get any other kind of help to get started (other than from parents?) Yes .... No ....
6. (If so) What kind of help did you get? ....
7. Do you use any other language in the home besides English? Yes .... No ....
8. (If so) What language is it? ....
9. Your parents were of what **religion**? Wife's parents .... Husband's parents ....
10. What town do you go to for **most** of the things you need? ....
11. How far is it from your farm? .... miles.
12. Do you do any outside work on the farm (other than gardening)? Yes .... No ....
13. (If so) What kind of work? ....
14. At what age do you think children are old enough to help around the farm? ....
15. What are the main kinds of chores, or other work, you (would) have your boys do? ....
16. What are the main kinds of chores, or other work, you (would) have your girls do? ....
17. Did you yourself grow up on a farm? Yes .... No ....
18. (If yes) What type of farm was it? ....
19. Are these chores you just described a moment ago any different from the kind of work boys and girls, generally, had to do when **you** were growing up on the farm? ....

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[1] Other information available from each respondent was obtained on the Sample Census Interview Form (see the Commission's report on Movement of Farm People).

Now, we would like to know how you manage some of the things in your family—for example, whether certain types of decisions are made by father, mother, both parents together, the children themselves, or maybe even by the whole family as a unit. For example:

	Father	Mother	Both Parents	Sons	Daughters	Whole Family as a Unit	Not Applicable
20. Who decides what crops to plant, when, and where–							
21. Who makes the decision to buy machinery–							
22. Who decides to buy appliances for the house–							
23. Who would decide if you need to borrow money–							
24. Who decides if there is any redecorating to be done in the house–							
25. Who decides what is given to church or charity–							
26. Who earns the income on this farm–							
27. Who decides what education the children will have–							
28. Who pays the bills for the family–							
29. Who drives the car or truck in this family–							
30. Who sees that the children study their lessons–							
31. Who gives the children permission when they want to go somewhere–							
32. Who punishes the children–							
33. Who gives the children their spending money–							

34. Do you as the wife get a part of the farm income to spend?
Yes No

35. How is the amount of it decided?

36. What is this amount supposed to be used for?

37. Do the children get money of their own? Yes No

38. How is the amount of it decided?

39. What is this amount supposed to be used for?

40. Do the children have property of their own? Yes No
Specify:

41. How may they use the income from this property?

* * *

We are interested in knowing how families handle certain problems. For example:

42. How do you get the children to do what you ask them to do?

43. What kinds of punishment do you believe suitable for children?

* * *

Now, we are interested in whether or not you do certain things as a family **group.** *For example:*

44. Does the whole family go into town **as a group?**
Yes No
Comment:

45. When you get into town, do you stay together as a group?
Yes No
Comment:

46. Do you eat your meals at home as a family group?
Yes No
Comment:

47. Are there other things you do more or less as a family **group?**
Yes No
(If so) What are some of them?

48. How does your family usually observe holidays?
Christmas
Do you do anything special for other holidays (Easter, Sports Day, etc.)?

49. Do you have any special celebration of birthdays in your family?
Yes No

50. (If so) What do you do?
a) In case of children
b) In case of adults

51. Do you **want** any of your children to stay in farming?
Yes No Don't know

52. Why do you say that?

53. Do you think your children **will** stay in farming?
Yes No Don't know

54. (If "no") **Why** don't you think they will stay in farming?

55. (If "yes" or "don't know") Do you think they are going to need help to get started in farming? Yes No (If so) What kind of help?

56. Who do you think should be responsible for giving this help?

57. How far away is your (or your husband's) nearest relative located? miles. What relationship are they to you?

58. How often do you visit with relatives -- Daily Weekly Monthly (or) Yearly ? Comment:

59. Would you say you visited with relatives more often than you do with people who are not relatives?
Yes No Don't know
Comment:

60. Do you exchange equipment or help as a regular thing with other people?
Yes No

61. (If so) Do you do this more often with relatives than with non-relatives?
Yes No Don't know
Comment:

62. If you got into some sort of trouble, would you rather ask a **relative** or a **friend** to help you out? Relative Friend Why?

63. Do you have any older relatives that you help out who do not live on the farm?
Yes No

64. (If so) What kind of help do you give?

65. With whom are they living?

APPENDIX VI

CONSTRUCTION, ITEM ANALYSIS, AND RELATIONSHIPS OF THE FAMILY INDEXES

In attempting to measure characteristics of 160 Saskatchewan rural families, the Commission was rather in the position of trying to measure something without any measures. It therefore constructed its own indexes to gather data on the following aspects of family organization: family integration; family labour; father-centered decision making; income allocation; kinship contacts; and family continuity. (There is no claim that these indexes cover all the significant aspects of family organization.) Scores for any index could range between 0 and 100, the high scores indicating families which were close to the traditional pattern for that aspect of family relationships and the low scores representing the most non-traditional performances.

All these indexes have to be labelled tentative, however. It is important to appreciate that established measures of this type are almost non-existent because of the paucity of sociological research upon the subject. The Commission attempted to develop more precise measurements of family factors by asking questions which were assumed in each case to be items of indicators of the larger aspects, which ranged all the way from the rather general notion of "integration" to more specific concepts such as "father-centered decision making."

Are these indexes reliable and valid? Technically, they are said to be reliable if they consistently reproduce like measurements, in the same way that a 12-inch ruler consistently measures 12 inches, no more, no less. They are said to be valid if they measure what they claim to measure, that is, if the index for family integration, for example, accurately reflects the functional co-ordination of family activities. Social scientists employ recognized techniques to evaluate reliability and validity. One test of reliability might involve the application of the given indexes to the same families by different researchers. Validity might be checked by having some independent criterion of each aspect for the families, against which index scores could be compared.

Actually, the whole question of reliability and validity in the measurement of family factors is a major methodological problem which will be solved only over a period of time. At the present stage of research, the six indexes have to be considered crude. They are also arbitrary in the selection of the items which make up each index. It is therefore desirable for the reader to familiarize himself with the specific items which compose each index (shown in Tables 1 - 6, Appendix VII).

Sometimes it was difficult to decide how a particular item should be scored. In the index for family labour, for example, which is the more traditional situation — when the wife does no outside work (except possibly for gardening) or when she works in the fields right along with the men? A somewhat arbitrary decision was made for the former, based on the reasoning that in the older rural societies, the division of labour was extremely clear-cut. If the observer cannot be sure whether the wife will work in the fields — sometimes she does, sometimes she does not — then there is not the clear "definition of the situation" implied by the concept used here. And as between always doing outside work or never doing it (but instead concentrating almost exclusively on the house), the latter was chosen as the more traditional of two equally clear-cut situations. Admittedly, however, the matter might be argued. There are several items of this nature in the indexes. The Commission made an important attempt to check on such methodological matters, by making an item analysis of each index (see Appendix VII). The results were encouraging, because they provided empirical evidence of at least a common dimension running through the items making up each index. This analysis provides some confidence that the theory of comparison with the earlier family was pertinent and that the choice of specific items for indexes, based upon historical and theoretical study, was sound on the whole. If the indexes were to be revised, there are at the most only four items that should be eliminated on the basis of this analysis.

Basically, the technique of item analysis is to see whether each individual item discriminates between the high group and the low group on the total index score. For each item, the tables show the number of families in the total of 160 who possessed that item, then the percentages in the low-scoring and high-scoring groups who had it. (Sizes of these low and high groups vary somewhat. Since some scores occurred many times, it was usually impossible to employ exactly equal-size low and high groups, because of the lack of natural breaking-points between groups of scores. Percentages rather than frequencies are shown in order to make the tables easier for the reader to follow.)

All items in the indexes but one were found to discriminate in a positive way. The exception was the item, "boys do only 'boy's work'," for the index of family labour. To discriminate in a positive way, the observed frequency of an item should be larger than the theoretically expected frequency for the "high" group. The expected frequency is the number anticipated if the item does not discriminate at all. In the case of "boys do only 'boy's work'," for example, the expected frequency for the high group was 9.6, but the observed frequency was only 8. (Expected frequencies are not shown on the tables, but the Chi-square sizes are shown in Appendix VII.) In general, the larger the Chi-square, the greater the difference between observed and expected frequencies. Whether one might get such a difference as the result of variations in random sampling is shown by the tables in terms of probabilities. Any probability which is as low as .05 or less is considered to indicate a statistically significant result — that is, the individual item does discriminate between the high and the low. There are only three items for which the differences are not statistically significant at the 5 per cent level of probability, or less. In addition to the boy's item in the index of family labour, they are: one item in the index of kinship contacts (whether or not the family helps out older relatives not living on the farm) and one item in the index of family continuity (whether or not the respondent feels that the parents should help the children to get started in farming). It will be noted that the item about relatives involved very few cases in either low or high groups, and the last item involved virtually all cases in both low and high groups.

The above three items probably should be eliminated in any revised indexes. A fourth item that is not particularly useful occurs in the index of family integration (whether the family observes Christmas as a special family event). The expected frequency for the "high" group was 57; observed frequency was 59. The expected frequency for the "low" group was 56; observed frequency was 54. The differences are so slight that the item is not very helpful, actually, even though it happens to be statistically significant at the 5 per cent level.

Nothing is done to weight particular items; that is, all items count an equal amount in the total index score. To develop statistically determined weights at this stage probably would be superfluous because of the admitted grossness of these measures and the further work needed in checking their basic validity.

Why are nearly all the Chi-squares statistically significant? It is partly because of the inherent correlations among the quesions; in fact, this is taken as evidence of the reliability of the indexes, on the whole. Another consideration is the fact that the answers to the questions determine the index as well as the position in high and low groups. The second point can be illustrated in this way: if there were just one question, Chi-square would be very large (since perfect consistency is achieved) even though the question may be worthless. For two questions, Chi-square would decrease, and so forth.

An obvious question to raise is, "How do the various measured aspects of family organization hang together?" Logically, one might predict positive association between at least two pairs of indexes — (1) the family-centered aspects of kinship relations and family continuity in farming and (2) the father-centered aspects of decision making and income allocation. The characteristic of integration might be found associated with either pair, depending upon how integration was achieved. Likewise, the division of labour according to age and sex lines might fit into either a family-centered or a father-centered type of family.

Statistical analysis of the index scores, however, reveals that these aspects of family relationships change together to only a limited degree (Table 1). In general, there is little evidence of high association among them. Apparently, in this sample various characteristics resembling the earlier family show up independently rather than in clusters. For example, family integration as measured here is independent of father-centered decision making. This result may suggest that the democratic, rather than the autocratic, type of integration is holding sway.

TABLE 1. CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS AMONG FAMILY INDEXES (SIMPLE LINEAR CORRELATION)*

Indexes (N = 166)	Kinship Contacts	Family Continuity	Father-Centered Decision Making	Income Allocation	Division of Labour
Family integration	.124	.114	−.070	−.026	−.020
Kinship contacts		.125	.061	−.006	−.059
Family continuity			.016	−.024	.054
Father-centered decision making				.321†	−.098
Income allocation	—	—	—	—	−.014

* The correlation coefficient, or r, is a measure of the extent to which a given pair of indexes vary together. It can range in size from plus 1 to minus 1. Positive correlations indicate that an increase in one index is associated with an increase in the other index; negative correlations indicate an inverse relationship. A correlation coefficient of "0" indicates that there is no relationship between the two indexes. The larger the correlation coefficient, the closer is the relationship. Eleven of the r's in this table are hovering close to 0. The other correlations appear to be very low, although with the limited research done in measurement of family factors it is really difficult to judge what size of correlation would be considered important in this field.

† Significant at the 1 per cent level of probability.

One exception to the general results is the predicted, although moderate, correlation between father-centered decision making and the male-dominated type of income allocation. No doubt this is explained by the common elements reflecting the domination of the father and husband running through the two indexes.

The only other correlations of even minor consequence are the low positive correlations among the indexes for integration, kinship contacts, and family continuity. Even these a.e not statistically significant, but the fact that they exist at all and in the expected positive direction may be noteworthy.

It should be stressed that the indexes used in this study are tentative measures. They are supposed to reflect the extent to which patterns of family organization that existed in the past are reproduced in present-day families. If they are not wholly valid and reliable, as is probable, that circumstance may mean that the indexes show less interrelationship than is actually the case.

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APPENDIX VII

STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ANALYTICAL MATERIAL ON FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

The following series of tables contain measures of statistical significance of the analytical material in Chapter V on family relationships. The first series of tables (1 - 6) deals with the statistical significance of the items used to construct each index of family relationships. The second series (7 - 12) relates the total score for each index to the social and economic conditions of rural families.

Also included in this Appendix is an explanation and interpretation of the various ratios presented in Tables 7 - 12.

TABLE 1. ITEM ANALYSIS OF INDEX OF FAMILY INTEGRATION

Item	Number in Sample Responding Positively to Question			Chi Square	Probability (less than)
	Total (160)	Per Cent of Low Group	Per Cent of High Group		
Whole family goes into town as a group	129	65.5	98.3	21.0	.01
Stays together as a group when it gets to town	58	18.9	62.1	21.4	.01
Family volunteers information on two or more types of activity it does as a group*	109	46.4	86.2	20.2	.01
Wife indicates pride in observation of Christmas as a special *family* event	154	93.1	100.0	4.1	.05
Other holidays also celebrated as *family* events	93	29.1	89.3	43.2	.01
Special celebration for birthdays of children†	120	47.4	84.9	30.0	.01
Special celebrations for birthdays of adults	65	10.5	84.9	30.0	.01

* Or makes the claim, "We do everything as a family group."

† "Special celebration" means there is a cake baked, or a party, or some other family way of especially marking the event.

TABLE 2. ITEM ANALYSIS OF INDEX OF FAMILY LABOUR

Item	Number in Sample Responding Positively to Question			Chi Square	Probability (less than)
	Total (100)	Per Cent of Low Group	Per Cent of High Group		
Wife does no outside work except for gardening	33	Nil	66.7	42.1	.01
Children help around farm at an early age*	75	16.4	81.8	42.2	.01
Boys do only "boy's work" (unless no girls)†	58	33.3	22.9	0.91	.34
Girls do only "girl's work" (unless no boys)‡	51	14.8	94.3	56.9	.01

* "Early age" is defined as 8 years or younger.

† "Boy's work" includes all outside work except gardening and gathering of eggs and includes feeding all livestock and fowl.

‡ "Girl's work" includes all house work but not carrying of wood, water, ashes, etc. It also includes work in the garden and work with the poultry, feeding as well as gathering eggs. (Feeding poultry was considered as either boy's or girl's work, on the logic that the boy might feed the chickens at the time he feeds livestock.)

TABLE 3. ITEM ANALYSIS OF INDEX OF FATHER-CENTERED DECISION MAKING

Item	Number in Sample Responding Positively to Question			Chi Square	Probability (less than)
	Total (160)	Per Cent of Low Group	Per Cent of High Group		
Husband is most influential family member for:*					
Deciding what crops to plant, when, and where	135	71.4	96.5	13.5	.01
Deciding to buy machinery	100	33.9	89.5	37.3	.01
Deciding to buy appliances for the home	12	1.6	16.4	8.1	.01
Deciding to borrow money	70	11.7	90.0	67.3	.01
Deciding what is to be given to church or charity	22	3.3	31.5	16.2	.01
Giving children permission to go somewhere	18	5.0	23.2	8.2	.01
Punishment of the children	8	1.6	11.3	4.5	.04
Giving children their spending money	44	11.9	50.9	70.0	.01
Wife is most influential family member for:*					
Deciding to do redecorating in the home	98	40.3	77.2	16.7	.01
Seeing that the children study their lessons	81	38.6	81.1	20.6	.01

* "Most influential" means that in a check of the respective roles of husband, wife, and children in various decisions, the individual indicated definitely emerged as the most influential person for a given type of decision. The item was not counted when it was a joint decision or if, for any reason, it was impossible to tell which individual carried the greatest weight.

TABLE 4. ITEM ANALYSIS OF INDEX OF INCOME ALLOCATION

Item	Number in Sample Responding Positively to Question			Chi Square	Probability (less than)
	Total (160)	Per Cent of Low Group	Per Cent of High Group		
Husband (or husband and son) regarded as "the" income earner on the farm[*]	84	5.0	23.2	8.2	.01
Husband or son pays most of bills for family	89	17.4	86.3	45.3	.01
Wife does not get a part of the farm income to spend[†]	49	9.3	62.3	28.2	.01
Children do not receive a regular amount of money[‡]	105	72.3	96.2	11.3	.01
Children do not have property of their own	111	74.5	92.5	6.1	.02

[*] Rather than "both parents" or the "whole family as a unit."

[†] That is, the wife does not get a regular, dependable amount that she can budget for household and personal expenditures.

[‡] That is, the children do not receive either a regular allowance or a specific wage tied to the performance of particular tasks. Money received, if any, is irregular in amount and/or time of receipt.

TABLE 5. ITEM ANALYSIS OF INDEX OF KINSHIP CONTACTS

Item	Number in Sample Responding Positively to Question			Chi Square	Probability (less than)
	Total (160)	Per Cent of Low Group	Per Cent of High Group		
Has relatives located less than 10 miles away	127	48.9	97.7	24.4	.01
Visits with relatives at least weekly, or oftener	91	16.3	90.7	47.8	.01
Visits more with relatives than with non-relatives	81	9.3	91.1	58.9	.01
Exchanges equipment or help more often with relatives than with non-relatives	31	*Nil*	84.6	43.0	.01
If in trouble, wife would rather ask relative than friend to help her out	95	24.4	97.7	48.6	.01
Helps out older relatives not living on the farm	26	*Nil*	42.2	23.6	.01
Relatives are living in respondent's household	13	4.5	11.1	1.3	.25

TABLE 6. ITEM ANALYSIS OF INDEX OF FAMILY CONTINUITY

Item	Number in Sample Responding Positively to Question				
	Total (160)	Per Cent of Low Group	Per Cent of High Group	Chi Square	Probability (less than)
Received parental help to get started in farming	95	33.9	72.6	18.6	.01
Didn't receive favoured treatment among children to get started in farming[*]	58	50.0	77.5	4.9	.03
Wants own children to stay in farming	81	30.6	83.9	35.8	.01
Believes some of children will stay in farming	71	13.3	82.8	57.0	.01
Feels parent should help children to get started[†]	117	91.4	98.2	2.4	.13

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[*] Rather than getting more help specifically because the farmer was the oldest, youngest, or for some other special reason. The reasoning is that in the old family pattern, all children who want to go into farming are treated similarly by the parents.

[†] In some cases, the respondent indicated another type of help as well (e.g., governmental help); however, the item was counted if they indicated at all that parents should help the children to get started.

TABLE 7. DIFFERENCES AMONG MEAN SCORES FOR INDEX OF FAMILY INTEGRATION

Classification	N	Mean Scores	Variance Ratio
Population-Trend Areas (Quartiles)			
Extreme depopulation	40	72.2	2.68*
Moderate depopulation	40	60.6	
Stable population	40	70.5	
Increased population	40	67.3	
Type of Farm Index			
Livestock specialty	53	61.8	2.41*
Mixed farming	34	65.2	
Grain specialty	35	73.6	
Straight grain	19	74.5	
(No information)	(19)	(72.4)	
Size of Farm			
One quarter	16	67.1	.414
Two quarters	44	66.8	
Three quarters	22	67.9	
Four quarters	34	69.2	
Five and six quarters	32	70.6	
More than six quarters	12	60.6	
Index of Income			
"Development" farms	25	56.4	1.66
Low income	24	64.1	
Medium income	32	70.8	
Medium-plus income	40	71.7	
High income	12	68.9	
High-plus income	8	71.8	
(No information)	(19)	(72.4)	
Stage of Family Life Cycle			
Child-bearing stage	41	71.0	5.75†
Child-rearing stage	88	70.1	
Older child stage	27	55.6	
(No information)	(4)	—	
Language Differential			
English	84	66.8	.023
Non-English	67	67.6	
(No information)	(9)	—	
Distance from Town			
0-5 miles	53	66.4	.490
6-10 miles	52	69.3	
Over 10 miles	55	67.6	

* Significant at the 5 per cent level of probability.

† Significant at the 1 per cent level of probability.

TABLE 8. DIFFERENCES AMONG MEAN SCORES FOR INDEX OF FAMILY LABOUR

Classification	N	Mean Scores	Variance Ratio
Population-Trend Areas (Quartiles)			
Extreme depopulation	40	48.6	
Moderate depopulation	40	39.8	.504
Stable population	40	45.8	
Increased population	40	46.0	
Type of Farm Index			
Livestock specialty	53	34.6	
Mixed farming	34	48.0	
Grain specialty	35	44.3	2.84*
Straight grain	19	58.8	
(No information)	(19)	(53.4)	
Size of Farm			
One quarter	16	43.3	
Two quarters	44	41.3	
Three quarters	22	51.9	.559
Four quarters	34	43.9	
Five and six quarters	32	41.9	
More than six quarters	12	52.8	
Index of Income			
"Development" farms	25	34.7	
Low income	24	35.1	
Medium income	32	46.1	
Medium-plus income	40	48.5	1.71
High income	12	41.0	
High-plus income	8	64.6	
(No information)	(19)	(53.4)	
Stage of Family Life Cycle			
Child-bearing stage	41	52.8	
Child-rearing stage	88	44.0	3.22*
Older child stage	27	35.3	
(No information)	(4)	—	
Language			
English	84	48.1	
Non-English	67	38.9	2.74
(No information)	(9)	—	
Distance from Town			
0-5 miles	53	47.0	
6-10 miles	52	41.7	.347
Over 10 miles	55	44.7	

* Significant at the 5 per cent level of probability.

TABLE 9. DIFFERENCES AMONG MEAN SCORES FOR INDEX OF FATHER-CENTERED DECISION MAKING

Classification	N	Mean Scores	Variance Ratio
Population-Trend Areas (Quartiles)			
Extreme depopulation	39	42.4	
Moderate depopulation	40	37.7	1.19
Stable population	40	35.7	
Increased population	39	38.4	
(No information)	(2)	—	
Type of Farm Index			
Livestock specialty	52	39.2	
Mixed farming	33	39.0	
Grain specialty	35	37.3	.294
Straight grain	19	36.2	
(No information)	(21)	(40.4)	
Size of Farm			
One quarter	15	37.5	
Two quarters	44	36.1	
Three quarters	22	39.4	.317
Four quarters	33	38.7	
Five and six quarters	32	39.9	
More than six quarters	12	43.3	
(No information)	(2)	—	
Index of Income			
"Development" farms	24	37.0	
Low income	24	37.4	
Medium income	32	39.3	
Medium-plus income	39	37.8	.164
High income	12	39.2	
High-plus income	8	40.6	
(No information)	(21)	(40.4)	
Stage of Family Life Cycle			
Child-bearing stage	41	35.5	
Child-rearing stage	88	39.0	.857
Older child stage	27	40.4	
(No information)	(4)	—	
Language			
English	82	37.6	
Non-English	67	39.5	.50
(No information)	(11)	—	
Distance from Town			
0-5 miles	52	40.5	
6-10 miles	51	35.6	
Over 10 miles	55	39.4	1.42
(No information)	(2)	—	

TABLE 10. DIFFERENCES AMONG MEAN SCORES FOR INDEX OF INCOME ALLOCATION

Classification	N	Mean Scores	Variance Ratio
Population-Trend Areas (Quartiles)			
Extreme depopulation	40	53.3	.341
Moderate depopulation	40	52.6	
Stable population	40	49.1	
Increased population	40	46.5	
Type of Farm Index			
Livestock specialty	53	47.1	2.27*
Mixed farming	34	51.5	
Grain specialty	35	52.0	
Straight grain	19	47.1	
(No information)	(19)	(62.1)	
Size of Farm			
One quarter	16	54.6	.700
Two quarters	44	49.6	
Three quarters	22	54.8	
Four quarters	34	52.3	
Five and six quarters	32	43.2	
More than six quarters	12	53.1	
Index of Income			
"Development" farms	25	55.3	1.81
Low income	24	47.8	
Medium income	32	49.7	
Medium-plus income	40	50.1	
High income	12	38.0	
High-plus income	8	47.8	
(No information)	(19)	(62.1)	
Stage of Family Life Cycle			
Child-bearing stage	41	52.9	.330
Child-rearing stage	88	49.3	
Older child stage	27	47.6	
(No information)	(4)	—	
Language			
English	84	48.2	1.07
Non-English	67	52.5	
(No information)	(9)	—	
Distance from Town			
0-5 miles	53	55.9	1.41
6-10 miles	52	47.6	
Over 10 miles	55	47.7	

* Significant at the 5 per cent level of probability.

TABLE 11. DIFFERENCES AMONG MEAN SCORES FOR INDEX OF KINSHIP CONTACTS

Classification	N	Mean Scores	Variance Ratio
Population-Trend Areas (Quartiles)			1.48
Extreme depopulation	40	46.0	
Moderate depopulation	40	41.7	
Stable population	40	41.3	
Increased population	40	50.5	
Type of Farm Index			.460
Livestock specialty	53	44.6	
Mixed farming	34	45.6	
Grain specialty	35	45.6	
Straight grain	19	39.6	
(No information)	(19)	(47.2)	
Size of Farm			1.01
One quarter	16	57.3	
Two quarters	44	42.0	
Three quarters	22	42.2	
Four quarters	34	44.5	
Five and six quarters	32	47.8	
More than six quarters	12	56.6	
Index of Income			.576
"Development" farms	25	47.6	
Low income	24	39.9	
Medium income	32	43.8	
Medium-plus income	40	43.3	
High income	12	53.4	
High-plus income	8	42.9	
(No information)	(19)	(47.2)	
Stage of Family Life Cycle			.696
Child-bearing stage	41	48.5	
Child-rearing stage	88	42.8	
Older child stage	27	45.4	
(No information)	(4)	—	
Language			.054
English	84	46.1	
Non-English	67	42.7	
(No information)	(9)	—	
Distance from Town			.873
0-5 miles	53	47.8	
6-10 miles	52	44.4	
Over 10 miles	55	42.6	

TABLE 12. DIFFERENCES AMONG MEAN SCORES FOR INDEX OF FAMILY CONTINUITY

Classification	N	Mean Scores	Variance Ratio
Population-Trend Areas (Quartiles)			
Extreme depopulation	40	57.8	.31
Moderate depopulation	40	60.2	
Stable population	40	61.7	
Increased population	40	61.6	
Type of Farm Index			
Livestock specialty	53	56.3	1.27
Mixed farming	34	60.0	
Grain specialty	35	59.9	
Straight grain	19	68.8	
(No information)	(19)	(65.0)	
Size of Farm			
One quarter	16	55.6	.855
Two quarters	44	59.1	
Three quarters	22	56.4	
Four quarters	34	63.2	
Five and six quarters	32	65.7	
More than six quarters	12	55.4	
Index of Income			
"Development" farms	25	53.4	2.61*
Low income	24	54.6	
Medium income	32	59.6	
Medium-plus income	40	59.6	
High income	12	80.4	
High-plus income	8	64.7	
(No information)	(19)	(65.0)	
Stage of Family Life Cycle			
Child-bearing stage	41	61.8	.538
Child-rearing stage	88	60.3	
Older child stage	27	57.4	
(No information)	(4)	—	
Language			
English	84	62.2	1.55
Non-English	67	57.5	
(No information)	(9)	—	
Distance from Town			
0-5 miles	53	65.0	2.42
6-10 miles	52	60.9	
Over 10 miles	55	55.3	

* Significant at the 5 per cent level of probability.

Explanation and Interpretation of Variance Ratios

In Tables 7 - 12, there is shown for each classification a "variance ratio" (perhaps more familiarly known as the "F" test). This is a statistical test which helps to determine whether the difference among mean scores for groups (or sub-samples) in any given classification is probably a real difference or whether it is probably merely a chance difference due to fluctuations in random sampling. In general, the larger the variance ratio, the less likely is the difference among mean scores a chance one.

For each classification one begins with the so-called "null" hypothesis that there are no differences among the sub-samples. Unless the variance ratio is significant at the 5 per cent level of probability or less (meaning that the differences of the size shown are likely to occur as fluctuations of random sampling no more than 5 out of 100 times, on the average), the null hypothesis is considered sustained. Sustaining the null hypothesis can be interpreted to mean that either there are no "real" differences in the populations sampled, or the index is too crude and lacks the capacity to discriminate among sub-samples. Another possibility is that the samples are too small. In any event, there has been no rejection of the null hypothesis.

One never proves (or disproves) a hypothesis upon the basis of a sample. If "F" is significant, the indications are that differences of real importance *probably* exist. The chance of error is only 1 in 20 (or 1 in 100, in the case of the 1 per cent level of probability). If "F" is not significant, the null hypothesis is upheld (not proved). The differences are null, or too small to be of practical importance. This is still a probability statement, with an unknown chance of being wrong.

In case one can reject the null hypothesis because of a significant variance ratio, then the problem is to determine what caused the difference among mean scores. There is still the possibility, although a fairly remote one, that it could be due to a chance (a rate of 1 in 20 times). Random errors of recording, coding, and computing, as well as the error inherent in sampling variability, are included in this 1 in 20 chance. There is also the possibility of biased errors because of interview bias, sample bias, the restricted sample, and so forth, which change the 5 per cent probability of error to something either less than or more than 5 per cent. But every effort has been made to control such error. That leaves as the alternative explanation, the probability that the differences in mean scores do represent a real difference among the groups.

In each case of a significant variance ratio, then, the above alternative explanations were considered. The "t" test was also applied, in order to determine whether one, two, or all the sub-samples were the source of statistical significance. Just as the "F" test is a statistical tool commonly used to test objectively whether differences among several means are due to random variability or are "real," the "t" test is a similar method for testing the differences between just two means. In addition a test was made for homogeneity of variance (the "Fmax" test) to ensure that a basic assumption for the use of variance ratios was being met.

These suggestions are made to the reader examining Tables 7 - 12:

1) The failure to show a significant variance ratio may be important. Hence, note the classifications in which the different sub-samples do not appear to be associated with differences in the components of familism. This may upset some cherished ideas or expectations.

2) It is well to be most concerned, not with the occasional unique result, but with general trends, especially when the significant result appears to be the opposite of what might have been expected.

3) Recall that the null hyphothesis is that there are no real differences among groups. If the statistical tests indicate differences, then that is a situaion which necessitates (a) looking for sources of error, or (b) explaining the differences and, in effect, framing new hypotheses. It also thus suggests the most profitable areas for research in the future.

APPENDIX VIII

HOMEMAKER QUESTIONNAIRE

Letter Accompanying Questionnaire

The basis of our way of life is the home and the individuals who make it what it is. The family always has been, and always will be, the foundation of society. The factors which have an effect upon Saskatchewan homes and families for good or bad are factors which affect all people and are most important to all interests within the province.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life has been instructed by your province to look closely at the problems of rural homes and rural living and we would like to ask for your help in this task. In order to understand the problems of rural living we must know a great deal about rural homes — matters of housing, finance, family interests, and so forth. We would like to have you tell us as accurately as you can, on the following pages, just what your situation is as a Saskatchewan housewife and mother.

Please fill out the following questionnaire. It is rather long but we are sure that you will find it interesting. Your replies to the questions will be kept completely confidential; we ask you *not* to put your name on any of the pages. The information which you give us will be of great help to us and will be made available to the Saskatchewan Homemakers for use in the building of a better future for our people.

Thank you for your co-operation.

Research Division,
Royal Commission.

Personal Information Sheet

Directions: Please fill in the following information as accurately as possible. Be sure to write or print clearly. Please do NOT sign your name to this form. All information will be kept strictly confidential.

1. Your home location: ________ municipality, R.M. Number ________. Section ________ of Township ________. It is ________ miles from ________ (nearest town) and is ________ (direction) from the town.

2. Your age (circle one): 15 - 20 21 - 25 26 - 40 41 - 55 56 - 70 71 or over.

3. Highest grade completed in school ________

4. Persons living in your home. (Do not enter names. Indicate **relationship** to you, such as son, husband, nephew, hired man. If person is now going to school, enter present grade. If through with school, indicate highest grade completed.)

Relationship to You	Age	Present Grade	Grade Completed

5. How long have you lived on this farm? .... years.
   Where did you live before you came here? ....

6. Size of your farm .... quarters
   Amount rented .... quarters
   Amount owned .... quarters

7. What things do you produce on your farm?
   Amount in wheat this year .... acres
   Amount in course grains this year .... acres
   Amount in hay or forage crops this year .... acres
   Amount in bush or unimproved natural pasture .... acres
   Number of dairy cattle .... head
   Number of beef cattle .... head
   Number of hogs .... head
   Number of poultry ....
   Do you use a community pasture? Yes .... No ....

8. What organizations do you belong to:

Organization	Offices Held (If any)	Meetings Per Year

Why do you belong to organizations such as these? ....
....
....

9. What organizations do members of your household belong to?

Relationship of Member to You	Organization	Office Held (If any)	Meetings Per Year

10. What other activities do you or members of your household take part in?

Activity	Office Held (If any)	Meetings Per Year

11. How many people do you **regularly** visit? ....

On the average, how many times a month do you go visiting with your friends and neighbours? ....

How far away is the nearest friend whom you visit regularly? .... miles

How far away is the most distant friend whom you visit regularly? .... miles

12. Where do you go to do most of your shopping? ....

How far is that place from your home? .... miles

How many times a month do you go to that place? ....

How could things in that place be improved for you? ....

13. How many books do you read per year? ....

What kind of books do you like to read? ....

Where do you get your books? ....

14. What different magazines do you read regularly? ....

What kind of things do you like to read in magazines? ....

Where do you get your magazines? ....

15. How many hours a day would you say that you have your radio turned on? ....

What kind of programs do you like? ....

What kind of programs would you like to hear more of?

Kind of Program	Time of Day

What are your three favourite radio **stations?** List them in order of your choice.
First .... Second .... Third ....

16. How many guests do you have for meals in a year's time, who are:

Invited by adult members of the household?
1 - 24 .... 50 - 74 .... 100 or more ....
25 - 49 .... 75 - 99 ....

Invited by children over 16?
1 - 14 .... 30 - 44 ....
15 - 29 .... 45 or more ....

Invited by children under 16?
1 - 14 .... 30 - 44 ....
15 - 29 .... 45 or more ....

17. Does your family purposefully get together other than at meal times:
1 - 5 times per month .... 11 - 15 times per month ....
6 - 10 times per month .... 16 - 20 times per month ....
21 times or more per month ....

18. Does your family have

Physical examinations by a doctor: Adults, at regular intervals ....
Adults, when necessary ....
Children, at regular intervals ....
Children, when necessary ....

Dental examinations by a dentist: Adults, at regular intervals ....
Adults, when necessary ....
Children, at regular intervals ....
Children, when necessary ....

19. What is your favourite form of leisure? ....
....

20. How often are you able to indulge in this form of leisure? .... times per month

21. Do you sleep at night: Less than 7 hours ....
7 - 9 hours ....
More than 9 hours ....

22. Do you plan meals in advance? More than 2 days ahead ....
Two days ahead ....
One day ahead ....
Some meals planned in advance ....
Breakfast planned night before;
others same day ....
No planning except weekly shopping ....

23. Do you cook for more than one meal at a time?
Enough of some foods for two or more meals ....
Enough of some foods so that leftovers can be used later ....
Enough for one meal only ....

Home Production and Expenditure

One of the most important aspects of any home is the money spent on it, the planning and budgeting behind such expenditures, and the share of farm income and production that the home receives. We would like to have you indicate how the money is budgeted in your home. Please be as specific and exact as possible.

1. Does your family keep a budget or written plan of spending for your home?
Yes .... No ....

2. Who plans the spending of money on the home?
Mother only .... Mother and father together ....
Father only .... Entire family ....

3. What do you think about budgeting for farm women?

4. What kind of financial records of home expenditures does your family keep?
Record book or card file Receipted bills
Cancelled checks No record

5. Does your family have a definite plan of saving? Yes No

6. During the past year, did your family:
Save more than you had planned
Save about what you had planned
Save less than you had planned
Draw on its savings to meet expenses

7. Now, we would like to have you tell us how much you have spent for major household items in the last year. The following table presents the main categories of expenditures for most farm families.

Item of Expenditure	Amount Spent
Meats: fresh, cured, and canned	$ per month
Vegetables: fresh, frozen, dried, canned	$ per month
Staples: flour, sugar, coffee, tea, etc.	$ per month
Clothing: ready-made, for all members of household	$ per year
Dry goods: materials for sewing, fancy work	$ per year
Furnishings: articles for the house, utensils, appliances	$ per year
Health: doctors, dentists, druggist supplies	$ per year
Savings and insurance	$ per year
Church and charities	$ per year
Music, books, and magazines	$ per year
School books	$ per year
Other school expenses	$ per year
Social activities, association dues, etc.	$ per year
Vacations	$ per year
Automobile or truck expenses: gasoline, servicing, repairs	$ per year
Fuel, light, telephone, etc.	$ per year
Personal incidentals: all members of the household	$ per year

8. What percentage of the things that you use do you produce yourself on the farm?
Meats % Fuel % Vegetables %

9. What are the major items which you can for your own use? Please indicate amounts canned.
quarts
quarts
quarts
quarts

10. What percentage would you say that this is of the total canned food consumed by your family? %

11. Which method do you use in canning?
Open kettle Pressure cooker
Hot pack Cold pack

12. Do you preserve your own meats?
Yes No

13. What method do you use to preserve meat? ....

14. What percentage would you say that this is of the total meat consumed by your family? .... %

15. What percentage of the family's clothing do you make yourself? .... %

16. Check any of the following items of clothing which you ordinarily make yourself:
Children's play and school clothes .... Children's best clothes .... Husband's work clothes .... Own housedresses, aprons .... Own best clothes .... Pajamas, night garments .... Stockings or sweaters .... Other items ....

17. Do you cultivate a kitchen garden? Yes .... No ....

18. What vegetables are raised in your garden? ....

19. Who takes care of the garden? During cultivation ....
During planting ....
During weeding ....
During harvest ....

Home Inventory

Now we would like to know something about the home in which you live. Please check one of the items for each of the questions which follow unless there are other instructions with the question. Please be as accurate as you can.

1. Is your home built of: Brick or stone .... Frame and plaster .... Frame, painted or covered with stained shingles, insulbrick, or rolled siding .... Frame, unpainted .... Log or other construction ....

2. How many rooms are there, not counting bathroom or porch? (Write in number) .... rooms

3. Do you have storm windows for: All the windows .... Some of the windows .... None of the windows ....

4. Do you have a: Full or part basement, concrete or stone walls and floor .... Full or part basement, earth walls and floor .... Root cellar .... No basement ....

5. Do you heat your home with a: Basement furnace or space heater .... Space heater in room .... Kitchen stove ....

6. Do you light your home with: Electricity .... Gasoline or kerosene mantle lamps .... Wick lamps ....

7. Do you have a cistern? Yes .... No ....

8. Do you get your water from: Pressure system in the house .... Power pump at well, water not piped in .... Hand pump at well .... Open well .... Have water hauled in ....

9. Do you have a kitchen sink? Yes .... No ....

10. Do you have a bathroom (with or without water system)? .... Yes .... No ....

11. Do you wash your clothes: With a power operated machine .... With a hand operated machine .... By hand ....

12. Do you have a telephone? Yes .... No ....

13. How many clothes closets do you have?
    Three or more ....
    Two ....
    One ....
    None ....

14. Is there a dining room in addition to the kitchen in your house? Yes .... No ....

15. Check any of the following which you have in your house. Dining room table .... Buffet .... China cabinet .... Easy chair .... Piano .... Chesterfield .... Davenport .... Lounge .... Bookcase .... Desk ....

16. How many books, not counting children's or school books, do you have in your house? 0 - 9 .... 10 - 25 .... 26 or more ....

17. What kind of floor construction does your house have? Hardwood flooring in all or part of the house .... Softwood flooring in all or part of the house .... Rough flooring throughout the house ....

18. What kind of floor finish does your kitchen have? Linoleum .... Paint or varnished wood .... Unfinished ....

19. What kind of floor finish does your living room have? Linoleum .... Paint, varnish or wax .... Unfinished ....

20. What kind of finish does your living room wall have? Wallpaper .... Paint .... Calcimine over plaster or plasterboard .... Other kinds of finish .... Unfinished ....

21. What kind of finish does the woodwork in your house have? Painted in all or part of the house .... Varnished in all or part of house .... Unfinished ....

22. What newspapers does your home receive? Daily newspaper during six months or more .... Daily newspaper during less than six months .... Three or more weekly newspapers .... Two or less weekly newspapers ....

23. How many magazines does your home subscribe to? Four or more .... Two or three .... One .... None ....

24. How old is your house?
1 - 5 years .... 11 - 15 years ....
6 - 10 years .... 16 - 20 years ....

25. How did you come to own your house?
Built it .... Bought it with farm .... Moved it to farm ....

26. Roughly sketch in the ground floor layout of your house showing the location of each room and of each major appliance, such as refrigerator, washing machine and so on. Please label each room of the plan.

27. Roughly sketch your farm layout showing the relation of your house to the various farm buildings, the garden, source of water supply, toilet facilities, roads and the like.

28. Around your home, do you have:
A flower garden .... A lawn .... A hedge .... A fenced-in yard .... A windbreak ....

APPENDIX IX

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 125 HOMEMAKER FAMILIES

The mean age of the Homemaker respondents (N = 124) was 42.6 years.[1] Only 11 were between the ages of 21 and 25; 43 were in the 26 to 40 age group; the largest number, 53, were between 41 and 55 years of age; and 17 were between 56 and 70. One homemaker was over 70.

The male operators of the farms (usually, the husband; rarely, a son or another relative) averaged about five years older. Their mean age (N = 110) was 47.5 years. In education, the women were better schooled than the men. On the average, the Homemakers (N = 119) had completed 10.5 years of school, while the male operators (N = 91) averaged 8.9 years of schooling.

The mean number of members in the households included in this study (N = 124) was 4.1 persons. The frequency distribution for size of households looked like this:

1 to 2 persons	23 households
3 to 4 persons	57 households
5 to 6 persons	32 households
7 to 8 persons	10 households
9 persons and over	2 households
Total	124 households

In terms of the family life cycle, the majority of the Homemakers' families (N = 122) were in the child-rearing stage. Sixty-seven per cent of the families had children under 21 years of age living at home. No children at home were reported by 23 per cent of the families; since practically all the Homemakers in these cases were over 41 years of age, it can be assumed that many of them were "completed" families — that is, the children had left home.

Twelve families out of the 122 had adult children living at home. Only 11 reported hired help living as members of the household, 5 households included aged relatives, and 9 families reported other adults living with them.

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[1] In reporting totals or averages of the above data the "N" (number of respondents answering a particular question) is shown. Respondents sometimes omitted the reply to a question. In an anonymous mailed questionnaire, unfortunately there is no way of checking back or insisting upon answers. Thus the "N" for any item should be known to evaluate the results. As an example, the average years of schooling for male operators in the study was 8.9 years. But the "N" of this question was only 91. This fact suggests that 8.9 years is a higher estimate of the males' education than is actually the case, since a more than chance proportion of those for whom the question was unanswered probably would have little education.

The stage of the family life cycle is a particularly important factor in explaining some of the differences found among farm wives in their home management practices, social participation, and leisure activities. One would expect a woman whose children are all under 6 years of age to be coping with different problems from those of the woman whose children are all between 15 and 20. For this reason, a further analysis of the 94 families who reported children living at home is of interest:

In 22 families, the age range of the children was from under 1 to 6 years.

In 18 families, the age range of the children was from under 1 to 15 years.

In 9 families, the age range of the children was from under 1 to 20 years.

In 14 families, the age range of the children was from 7 to 15 years.

In 8 families, the age range of the children was from 7 to 20 years.

In 2 families, the age range of the children was from 7 to over 21 years.

In 6 families, the age range of the children was from 15 to 20 years.

In 3 families, the age range of the children was from 15 to over 21 years.

In 12 families, all the children at home were 21 years of age or over.

The Homemaker families represented the various types of farming found in Saskatchewan. Most probably would consider themselves engaged in "mixed farming," with both substantial crop acreages and livestock. The average acreage in wheat (N = 102) was 228 acres, in course grains (N = 89) 103 acres, and in cultivated hay or forage crops (N = 50) 42 acres. Cattle for 99 farms averaged 25 per farm, and hogs for 53 farms averaged 11 per farm. Only about 28 of the group could be called almost exclusively grain farmers and only about 7 almost exclusively livestock. The size of the farm business was fairly substantial, in most cases. There were only 9 farms that had fewer than 100 acres of crop or fewer than 15 stock units.

Farm sizes ran from less than a quarter-section to more than six sections. The mean average was 4.62 quarters, but there were actually only 41 farms that were over a section in size; 72 were a section or less in size. Eight of the families were town residents no longer active in farming.

Ownership was high in this group. Forty-two per cent were full owners of their farms, and 39 per cent were part owners (and even these tended to own more land than they rented). Only 8 per cent were full renters. (A few lived in town or did not report.) Fifteen families reported using community pastures in addition to their own land.

APPENDIX X

REPRESENTATIVENESS OF THE HOMEMAKER SAMPLE

Characteristics of the Homemaker respondents, their families, and their farms have been described in Appendix IX. It was never expected that a questionnaire study enlisting volunteers of a women's organization (even as widespread as the Homemakers) would result in a sample that would be truly representative of rural women in the province as a whole. There is the possibility, however, of estimating how much this group would differ from a truly random sample.

Table 1 gives a comparison of data from this survey with roughly similar data that can be quoted or estimated from statistics of the Census of Canada. It should be evident that the Homemakers and their husbands included in the Commission survey were slightly older and considerably better educated and better off economically than the average rural farm couple in the province.

Their farms and homes were significantly larger and decidedly better equipped with modern amenities. The average number of rooms per dwelling among the Homemaker sample was tabulated at 5.73 rooms. Houses with 4, 5, or 6 rooms were the most common (73 in all), but there were a surprising number with 7, 8, and even 9 rooms (a total of 40). There were only 12 homes as small as 2 or 3 rooms. It is useful to compare the average room size (5.73) with the average number of members per household (4.1 persons). When the number of persons exceeds the number of rooms, this fact is usually considered an index of crowded conditions. It is a situation which did not prevail with the Homemakers; in fact, only 19 homes out of the total were overcrowded by this standard.

On the level of living scale developed by Edwards for rural Western Canada (see Chapter IV), 85 per cent of the Homemaker families were rated as being in the "high" socio-economic level, in that they scored from 19 to 27 points on the scale. This is another measure of the relative adequacy of their dwellings, since the items in the Edwards scale consist largely of characteristics of the house or its furnishings. Almost all the remaining families rated in the "medium" group (10 to 18 points). Only one home was in the "low" group (0 to 9 points).

In some respects there was not a great difference between the Homemaker sample and the general farm population. The average number of members per household and the sex ratios were about the same. There was a total of 506 persons represented in the sample families. According to Table 2, the distribution of this population among the census divisions was fairly similar to that of the total farm population. Perhaps Division 1 is a little over-represented and Divisions 9 and 14 a little under-represented in the sample.

TABLE 1. COMPARISON OF HOMEMAKER QUESTIONNAIRE DATA, 1953, WITH SASKATCHEWAN RURAL FARM CENSUS DATA, 1951

Item Compared	Homemaker Questionnaire (1953)	Census (1951)
Average age of homemaker (in years)	43	41
Average age of male operator (in years)	48	45
Sex ratio (number of males per 100 females)	112	123
Average number of members in household	4	4
Average years of schooling of homemaker	11	8
Average years of schooling of male operator	9	7
Average size of farm (in acres)	739	550
Average number of rooms in dwelling	6	5
Percentage of occupied dwellings reporting:		
Electricity	66	21
Telephone	84	50
Furnace	47	23
Piped-in water supply	22	6
Power washing machine	96	60
Gas or kerosene lamps	34	79

SOURCE: *Census of Canada*, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, and questionnaire returned to the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life by members of Saskatchewan Homemakers' Clubs.

It would be desirable, of course, to study the homemaking practices of a group of farm wives which would include a more proportionate number from the less advantaged groups. There is no way it can be successfully achieved through a mailed questionnaire study, to the Commission's knowledge. Results of the present research are not treated in terms of probability statistics as representative of the situation for the whole of rural Saskatchewan. But the findings can be accepted for what they are — a suggestive pool of information from an interesting group, which can be used as a basis for planning and further study. Since it is an above average group in terms of home surroundings, it is indicative of what can be done in rural Saskatchewan homes and thus represents a goal at which to aim for the time being.

TABLE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF HOMEMAKER SAMPLE POPULATION COMPARED TO THAT OF TOTAL RURAL FARM POPULATION FOR SASKATCHEWAN, BY CENSUS DIVISION

Census Division	Sample (1953)		Census (1951)	
	Population	Per Cent of Total	Population	Per Cent of Total
1	71	14	19,898	5
2	32	6	17,469	4
3	22	4	17,454	4
4	23	5	9,747	2
5	14	3	28,779	7
6	31	6	26,242	6
7	25	5	18,010	5
8	15	3	16,665	4
9	13	3	34,126	9
10	56	11	26,466	7
11	45	9	18,261	5
12	21	4	15,970	4
13	34	7	18,224	5
14	22	4	38,085	10
15	40	8	45,363	11
16	20	4	27,042	7
17	22	4	18,22[illegible]	5
Province (omitting Division 18)	506	100	396,926	100

SOURCE: Census of Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, and questionnaire returned to the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life by members of Saskatchewan Homemakers' Clubs.

APPENDIX XI

QUESTIONNAIRE ON WOMEN'S SERVICES

List of Organizations and Agencies That Completed the Women's Services Questionnaire

Canadian Association of Consumers, Saskatchewan Branch
Saskatchewan Women's Co-operative Guild
Saskatchewan Department of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation
International Harvester Company of Canada Ltd.
Saskatchewan Power Corporation
Saskatchewan Department of Public Health
Fitness and Recreation Division, Saskatchewan Department of Education
Women's Service, University of Saskatchewan
Saskatchewan Arts Board
Nutrition Division, Department of National Health and Welfare
Saskatchewan Department of Agriculture
Canada Department of Fisheries
Women's Section, Saskatchewan Farmers Union
Adult Education Division, Saskatchewan Department of Education
Provincial Library, Province of Saskatchewan
Dairy Farmers of Canada
Bakery Foods Foundation of Canada
Saskatchewan Homemakers' Clubs
Moffats Limited
Canadian General Electric Company Limited (Mid-West District)
Canada Department of Agriculture, Marketing Service, Consumer Section

List of Radio and Television Stations That Completed the Women's Services Questionnaire

CKCK-TV, Regina
CFQC-TV, Saskatoon
CFRG, Gravelbourg
CHAB, Moose Jaw
CJNB, North Battleford
CKBI, Prince Albert
CKRM, Regina
CJGX, Yorkton
CFQC, Saskatoon
CBK, Watrous

Women's Services Questionnaire (General)

Name of agency or organization ....

....

1. Have you a branch of special interest to homemakers?
   Yes .... No ....

2. Have you a public information or education service connected with your agency?
Yes No

3. If yes, what method do you use? Check 1, 2, 3, 4 in order of importance. Lectures Bulletins Films & film strips Demonstrations Radio
Press Interviews List any other

4. Is the purpose of your program
Research? Public information? Adult education or extension? Advertising?

5. What are qualification requirements of personnel employed?

6. How many people do you contact annually? (estimate)

7. What percentage would you say were
Large urban centers Small urban centers
Farm

8. Is the service used most extensively by the following people:
Professionals Community leaders and organizations
Individuals

9. Do you make any special effort to reach rural women?
Yes No
If yes, please describe

10. What major obstacles do you meet in successfully reaching rural women?

11. What do you find are the most effective ways of getting in touch with the rural community?

Any further comments or additional information that would be helpful in this study would be appreciated. An additional sheet is attached to the questionnaire for this purpose.

Women's Services Questionnaire
(Radio and Television Stations)

Name of station

Radio or Television

Where located

1. To what extent are your educational programs designed to meet the special interests of women?

2. What proportion of these programs are public service features? commercial programs?

3. What type of personnel do you normally draw upon for these programs? (qualifications, experience, etc..)

4. What particular fields of homemaking are dealt with in these programs? (Rank in order of importance.)

Foods and cookery	Child care and training
Food preservation	Home management
Nutrition and health	Budgeting and finance
Clothing and textiles	Family relations
List others	

5. What is the extent of your rural listening audience to these programs?

6. What methods do you use for measuring listenership?

7. Which programs seem the most popular?

8. Any further comments?

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This report is the tenth of a series of fourteen to be presented by the Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life to the Government of Saskatchewan. The full list of official reports follows:

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